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Jean Baptiste Point du Saible, The First Chicagoan

The year 1937 marks the centennial of Chicago as a city, and the one hundred and fourth year since the straggling village and trading post was incorporated as a township in the State of Illinois. In keeping with this anniversary, it may prove worth while to piece together the scattered fragments of recent research on the biography of the first permanent resident on the site of the present city.

Chicago entered history more than a century and a half before its incorporation. Indians, French woodsmen, trappers, voyageurs, officials, missionaries, made their way over the Chicago portage from the middle of the seventeenth century, and near the close of that century the spot was the scene of a flourishing Indian mission. After 1780 it possessed an excellent farm and Indian trading post, and in 1804 a military garrison was established. Its position was indeed strategic, between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River on the line of travel to St. Louis, the Arkansas country, Louisiana, Texas, and the Gulf of Mexico.

Marquette and Jolliet had visited the locality in 1673, and in 1674 and 1675 the missionary had an enforced and temporary residence within the present city limits.¹ Father François Pinet in 1696 established the Guardian Angel Mission which flourished for a year, and which consisted of two villages with 150 cabins in each, until it was suppressed by Frontenac, Governor of New France, in 1697. Through the instrumentality of Bishop Laval of Quebec it was reopened in the year 1698 and continued for about three years when it was closed, and Father Pinet went on to Cahokia and thence to the River Des Peres.²

¹ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1900, LIX, note 41.

² Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1921, 15-21.

The curtain now drops on the story for sixty-four years. The reason for this gap was the difficulty between the Fox Indians and the French. Just as these natives had closed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway to the Mississippi, so now they barred egress by way of the Chicago portage.³ The narrative returns in a tale of Governor Reynolds of Illinois, who relates that he met an old lady at Cahokia, Illinois, with claims that she and her husband, Pilette de St. Ange, lived at Chicago about the year 1765.⁴ This woman, who was subsequently known as Madame Le Compte, died at Cahokia in 1804. Tradition has it that as early as 1778, a trader by the name of Guary or Guillory had settled in Chicago. Gurdon S. Hubbard mentions this in his autobiography, stating that he heard of Guary from Antoine Des Champ, one of the early settlers here.⁵ However neither of these assertions has ever been substantiated by any proof, and both are accepted by most authorities as mere isolated statements.⁶

The title of "Father of Chicago" has been given to many. Mrs. John H. Kinzie claims the honor for her father-in-law, John Kinzie. Her statement concerning him runs: "This gentleman was for nearly twenty years, with the exception of the military, the only white inhabitant of Northern Illinois."⁷ So well did she narrate her story that for some time the Kirk Building at the river bank on North Michigan Boulevard had a bronze plate stating that on its site the first settler made his home. Milo M. Quaife in an early work urges the honor for Captain John Whistler, builder and first commandant of Fort Dearborn.⁸ And recently James Ryan Haydon has devoted an entire book to the claim of Col. Thomas J. V. Owens, Government Agent and first President of the Board of the Town of Chicago.⁹

In spite of these various assertions it seems that the honor and title of being the first Chicagoan belongs to Jean Baptiste Point du Saible, who was either a Negro or mulatto. His claim is no vain one for it is substantiated by at least three contempor-

³ Milo M. Quaife, *Checagou*, Chicago, 1933, 28-29. Here Quaife also brings out the reason for this enmity. The Fox objected to the French practice of supplying provisions and arms to their Western rivals, the Sioux.

⁴ Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1913, 137. See also his *Checagou*, 30.

⁵ Gurdon S. Hubbard, *Autobiography*, Lakeside Press, Chicago, 1911, 4.

⁶ Garraghan, 25; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 137. A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Chicago, 1884, I, 70.

⁷ Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau Bun*, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1930, 147-148.

⁸ *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 148.

⁹ J. R. Haydon, *Chicago's True Founder*, Thomas J. V. Owen, Lombard, Illinois, 1934.

ary documents, all of which show him to be a man of wealth, education, and character. At the close of the eighteenth and at the very dawn of the nineteenth century he had a spacious, cultivated, and well stocked farm, together with a mill and an Indian trading post on the very site that today is studded with skyscrapers and ribboned with drives, streets, and boulevards. This ingenious, resourceful, and seemingly well-educated Negro made Chicago a definite place.

There are many gaps in the life of Point du Saible which are as yet unfilled. Many details are unknown and not a few hazy. In this paper we hope only to give the bones of the story with a hope that in time they may gather some meat.

One of the shadowy periods of Point's life is its beginning. Where and when was he born? Who were his parents? These are questions whose answers we would like to know. Until four years ago it was generally accepted that Du Saible was a free Santo Domingo Negro or mulatto.¹⁰ Recently, however, Milo M. Quaife, Archivist of Wayne County, Michigan, has brought forth the contention that he was not a Santo Domingan but rather the base-born descendant of the famous Dandonneau family, originally of Bourges, France.¹¹ In 1627, Jacques Dandonneau, together with his wife Isabella and their son Pierre, migrated to Three Rivers, and thence to Champlain in Canada. This son, Pierre, acquired the title "Sieur du Saible." As a result his descendants were known by both the names of Dandonneau and Du Saible. In the course of time the family branched out to Montreal, Mackinac, and St. Joseph. Many of its members were engaged in the fur and Indian trade.

It is a known fact that there were many Negroes, both free and slave, in the Northwest Territory.¹² From the apparent similarity of the names and the presence of Negroes, Quaife concludes that Jean Baptiste Point du Saible was the offspring of a colored woman and one of the numerous traders, descendants of Angelique du Saible, wife successively of Charles Chaboillez and Ignace Jean. However the account is merely a supposition, as Quaife himself admits.¹³ Until some documentary evidence is

¹⁰ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, 70; Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, 24; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 138-142.

¹¹ Quaife, *Checagou*, 31-36.

¹² Philippe Renault brought 500 Negro slaves to Fort Chartres in 1720 from Santo Domingo. See Rev. Frederick Beuckman, "Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Early Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1918), I, 65.

¹³ "In absence of any specific record concerning his parentage, we can

forthcoming, it does not seem strong enough to overthrow the time-honored tradition that Point du Saible came from Santo Domingo. Quaife says: "His occupation and place of residence, his ability and good repute with his contemporaries, his French name and speech, all support the contention that he was, on his father's side, a member of the ancient and widespread family of Dandonneau *dit* Du Sable."¹⁴ All of this may be true; nevertheless, the same qualities and characteristics could be accounted for by accepting the usual tradition, for after the treaty of Ryswijck in 1697, the western part of Haiti or Santo Domingo was ceded to the French, who had come there as early as the year 1638, and had definite settlements since 1659. Negroes had been imported into Haiti and Santo Domingo since the year 1517, and mixed bloods were common.¹⁵

Under the French régime, many of the Negroes were cultured and well educated and became land owners of wealth.¹⁶ Many of them because of the kind treatment of the French migrated to Louisiana.¹⁷ Beyond these two facts, there is another which strengthens the common tradition. In the year 1720 Philippe Renault arrived at Fort Chartres¹⁸ with five hundred Negro slaves from the Island of Santo Domingo. In 1723 a large tract of land, situated about five miles from the Fort was granted to him.¹⁹ Later he received a grant of 14,000 acres near Peoria.²⁰ This last-mentioned fact is important for the simple reason that in 1783 Point du Saible received a land grant from the Government of the United States in the vicinity of Peoria which he claims to have developed as early as 1780.²¹ From these facts it seems possible that Point could have had a French name, could have spoken their language, and could have been fairly cultured, and still

only resort to speculation, based on reasonable probabilities of the case. Evidently he was 'baseborn,' and his mother was probably a slave." Quaife, *Chicagou*, 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Gregor Reinhold, "Haiti," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, VII, 114. Also E. Macpherson, "The Dominican Republic," *ibid.*, V, 110-111.

¹⁶ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, 70.

¹⁷ W. Barrows, "Ancient Chicago," *Magazine of American History* (1885), XIII, 362.

¹⁸ Fort Chartres was situated on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River about thirty miles below East St. Louis. It is now a state park.

¹⁹ Beuckman, "Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction," 65.

²⁰ Joseph J. Thompson, "The French in Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (1919), II, 21-22.

²¹ Stella M. Drumm, in *Journal of a Fur Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813* (by J. C. Luttig), St. Louis, 1920, appendix, 153-155.

have been a Santo Domingan or descended from Santo Domingans, for they were exposed to French culture for over a hundred and twenty years before we ever find mention of Point du Saible. This is not a refutation of Quaife's supposition. Both are in need of further investigation. But until more conclusive evidence is produced, there is merit in the traditional account that he was a Santo Domingan.

As to the date of his birth and parentage absolutely nothing is known. We would like to picture him as the son of one of the many wealthy, cultured, Santo Domingo families of Color, or even as the son of slave parents, who by his own ability and natural gifts coupled with ambition rose from servitude to high estate, but if we did it would be purely a figment of the imagination, and worth as much. As far as documents are concerned he just happened on the scene in the year 1779, for in that year we receive our first definite knowledge concerning him.

The first documentary evidence we have with regard to him makes mention of his being a Chicagoan. In an official report by Colonel Arent Schuyler DePeyster, British Commandant at Michilimackinac, there is recorded: "Baptiste Point de Saible a handsome negro, well educated and settled at Eschikagou; but much in the interest of the French."²² This report was entered on July 4, 1779. A few months later a report from Lieutenant Thomas Bennett of the King's Regiment to his commander at Mackinac reads: "I had the negro, Baptiste Point de Sable brought prisoner from the River Du Chemin (to Detroit).²³ Corporal Tascon, who commanded the party, very prudently prevented the Indians from burning his home, or doing him any injury. He secured his packs, etc., which he has taken with him to Michilimackinac. The negro, since his imprisonment has in every way behaved in a manner becoming to a man of his station, and has many friends who give him good character."²⁴ Piecing together these two accounts, we get a pleasant introduction to the first Chicagoan. Whatever his beginning might have been he was now a person of no low degree. The reports were made by two educated men, officers in the British Army. One, to use his own expression, calls him "well educated," and the other pays him a compliment of which no gentleman need be

²² Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, 70; Garraghan, 24.

²³ Riviere du Chemin: Trall Creek, near the present Michigan City, Indiana.

²⁴ J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders*, Chicago, 1912, 47.

ashamed, that "he behaved in a manner becoming to a man of his station." Furthermore, from this same testimony he was not lacking in friends, for many of them volunteered information as to his good character. The value of this is magnified if we consider that these two writers were not his friends but rather enemies of war, who strongly suspected that Point was lined up on the other side. One had to have a striking personality to draw such commendation from his captors.

In order to understand the reason for his arrest, we have to remember the period, the Revolutionary War. Captain de Langlade, a subordinate of Colonel DePeyster, went through the Indian country to stir up the enmity of the natives against the American cause. At this time the State of Virginia claimed all of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio as her territory. Governor Henry of Virginia commanded Colonel George Rogers Clark to go through this territory and claim it for the Colonies. His assistant in Illinois was Major Godfrey de Linctot. Du Saible is said to have been one of the Major's spies, and as such was forced to leave Chicago and go to Du Chemin to avoid capture by Langlade. Here, however, he was apprehended by Lieutenant Bennett and sent to Mackinac. It cannot be stated with certainty that Point was one of De Linctot's spies.²⁵ However, the contention is supported somewhat by the fact that in 1783 he was able to prove that he was a citizen of the United States, and thus receive a land grant from the Government.²⁶ If this account be true we have the reason why he is said to have been living at Chicago in DePeyster's report. He was living at Chicago before Langlade came but was forced out and finally captured by Bennett.

He does not seem to have been held prisoner long for his name appears in account books of various merchants of Detroit from the years 1780 to 1784. His personality apparently so captivated Lieutenant Governor Sinclair, who succeeded DePeyster at Mackinac, that he placed him in charge of his own establishment, called the "Pinery," which was situated a few miles from the present Port Huron, Michigan.²⁷ Here again a little more light is thrown on the character of the first Chicagoan, and we see his ability to make friends and inspire confidence in others.

In the spring of 1790 Hugh Heward, clerk of William Robin-

²⁵ George A. Brennan, *The Wonders of the Dunes*, Indianapolis, 1923, 46-50.

²⁶ Stella M. Drumm, 22.

²⁷ Quaife, *Chicagou*, 37-38. These account books are still preserved in the Detroit Public Library.

son of Detroit, made a water journey through the Illinois country, and kept a diary of this trip. He and his party went through Chicago and stopped at Point du Saible's place on Monday, May 10. Further, they obtained provisions from him, including forty-one pounds of flour, twenty-nine pounds of pork, a quantity of baked bread, and in exchange they gave thirteen yards of cotton.²⁸ From this account we are certain that Point du Saible was living here in 1790. We get some idea of his establishment also, for a man who could supply the above-mentioned provisions in such quantities, situated, as he was, at least two hundred miles from the nearest center of civilization, evidently had fields under cultivation, his own flour mill, hogs, a smoke house, and also someone to bake the bread. Point had all these things and other accommodations which makes one remark the ingenuity of a man who could have such a place in the midst of the wilderness.

In the light of certain documentary evidence it is amusing to see the various descriptions given by many historians of Point du Saible's settlement in Chicago. It has been referred to as a cabin, a small log cabin, a rude hut.²⁹ In order to dispel some of these misrepresentations and to give the reader some concept of the size of Chicago's first permanent settlement, the following figures are significant. What has been described as a rude cabin or hut in reality was a house 40 feet by 22 feet, a horsemill 36 feet by 24 feet, a bakehouse 20 feet by 18 feet, a dairy 10 feet square, a smokehouse 8 feet square, a poultry house 15 feet square, a workshop 15 feet by 12 feet, one stable 30 feet by 24 feet, a barn 40 feet by 28 feet, and all the wood necessary for a new barn. A rude hut doesn't seem quite comprehensive enough to express all of this. In addition to these buildings the establishment had more than the necessary farming implements, one planksaw, one large rip saw, one cross-cut 7 foot blade, one cooper's handsaw, one plowchain, one plowshare (new), one plow complete, three carts. The farm was well stocked, even according to modern standards, having one horse, two mules, thirty head of full-grown cattle, two spring calves, thirty-eight hogs, and forty-four hens. Astonishment grows with a glance at the

²⁸ Hugh Heward, MS Journal, 19-20. A verbatim copy of the original manuscript made by Caroline McIlvaine is preserved in the archives of the Chicago Historical Society.

²⁹ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, 70, 72, "Cabin"; E. O. Gales, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago*, Chicago, 1902, 11, "A small log cabin"; Everett Chamberlain, *Chicago and Its Suburbs*, Chicago, 1874, 24, "A rude hut"; Colbert and Chamberlain, *Chicago and the Great Conflagration*, Cincinnati and New York, 1871, 17, "Rude Cabin."

furnishings of the "hut" itself. It had one cabinet of French walnut, 8 feet by 4 feet, with four glass doors, four tables, one bureau, one couch, seven chairs, one stove, one pair of candle sticks, two mirrors, two pictures, one hatchet, twenty large wooden dishes, three good pewter basins, four tin basins, one churn, two porridge pots, two funnels, one strainer, one gridiron, two spits, one iron coffee mill, one pair of scales with weights, one leather sack, one brass wire sack, one nettle wire sack, one large feather bed, one tin lantern, two bullet molds, three copper kettles (10 gallons, 7 gallons, 3½ gallons), eight other copper kettles, one toasting iron, four planes, five pair of door hinges, two copper bells, one bag of carpenter tools, one iron mill, one box of assorted iron utensils.³⁰ One might hazard a guess that these things wouldn't even fit into a "small rude hut."

We have gone some lengths to enumerate Du Saible's various possessions, not only to refute the "rude hut" idea, but more especially because they give us a complete picture of the accomplishments, the tastes, and the versatility of the first Chicagoan. He was a husbandman, a carpenter, a cooper, a miller, and probably a distiller. He was a man of fine tastes and refinement. Only such a man would have thought of having a cabinet of French walnut, a feather bed, a couch, and a bureau, to say nothing of mirrors and pictures, in the midst of a wilderness. The wonder of it all is how he transported all of these implements and furnishings.

Four years after Heward's visit, Parrish Grignon of Buttes des Morts³¹ journeyed through here and met Du Saible. He described him as being "a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely."³² One remarkable thing about this first Chicagoan is that in every contemporary report we have of him, he is described as being a man of substance. This is not to be wondered at after seeing the list of his possessions. Undoubtedly, he owned one of the most complete establishments in the Middle West outside of St. Louis and Detroit.

Not a few of the later writers of Chicago's history, for one reason or another, have completely ignored this man from whose

³⁰ This enumeration is found in the original inventory and bill of sale of the property and possessions of Jean Baptiste Point du Saible of Chicago and reproduced by M. M. Quaife, "Property of Jean Baptiste Point Saible," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (1928-1929), XV, 89-92.

³¹ Buttes des Morts: near the present site of Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

³² Augustin Grignon, "Seventy-two Years Recollections of Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (1904), III, 292.

settlement Chicago's permanency really dates. Others have pictured him as a crude trader, drinking freely, and consorting with savage women and rearing his dusky tribe in rude half-breed gayety and contentment.³³ Such stories are not facts but rather conjecture, which one sometimes suspects is highly colored by racial prejudice. None of the accounts written by men who knew him give any justification for these speculations. On the contrary the marriage and baptismal records at Cahokia³⁴ and St. Louis seem to indicate that his morals were on a par with his business acumen.

The religion of the first Chicagoan was Catholic. From all the records and reports that come down to us, he appears to have been as practical in its observance as was possible in the wilderness. Sometime during the seventies he took a Potawatomi woman named Catherine for his wife. Some years later, in 1788, he had this union solemnized before a priest at Cahokia, Illinois. Of this marriage he had two children, Jean Baptiste Point du Saible, Jr., and Suzanne. If he and his family were here before the year 1779 there is some possibility that both of these children were born on the site of the present-day city. Suzanne was married to Jean Baptiste Peltier at Cahokia in the year 1790.³⁵ In the year 1799 this same daughter and her husband were in St. Louis to have their daughter Eulalia baptized by the acting pastor of the place, Father Lusson, a Recollect. The record mentions that they were legitimately married and residing at Chicago.³⁶ This granddaughter of Point du Saible's was born at Chicago in the year 1796.

From these two accounts we get a fair picture of Point's Catholicity. It was not unusual in the mission fields, such as Chicago was in the eighteenth century, for people to enter into marriage without the services of a priest. Many times, because of the infrequency of the visits of the missionaries and the distance to the nearest mission or parish, years would pass before the marriage would be solemnized. Nevertheless when the opportunity presented itself, this man and his wife journeyed over three hundred miles to the Mission at Cahokia and were mar-

³³ Moses and Kirkland, *History of Chicago*, Chicago, 1895, 28-29.

³⁴ Cahokia: a Mission established in 1698, situated about four miles below the present site of East St. Louis on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River.

³⁵ Quaife, *Checagou*, 42.

³⁶ G. J. Garraghan, "Early Catholicity in Chicago," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (1918), I, 19.

ried by a priest. Furthermore, he so instructed his daughter apparently, that she made this long, and, in those days very arduous journey, to be married by a priest, and later she repeated the trip for the baptism of her daughter. Finally, during an illness in 1813, Point du Saible signed over all of his property and possessions to his granddaughter, Eulalia, in exchange for her promise to care for him and bury him in the Catholic cemetery at St. Charles, Missouri.³⁷ In all of these acts he conducted himself in a manner most befitting a practical Catholic.

Most historians and writers of Chicago's history following Andreas hold that Point du Saible left Chicago about the year 1796. In that year he is supposed to have sold his "cabin" to Joseph le Mai.³⁸ However, there exists an original document, preserved at the Wayne County Building in Detroit, which contains a complete inventory of his holdings at Chicago, and a bill of sale transferring the same to Jean la Lime.³⁹ This bill of sale was drawn up at old St. Joseph, Michigan, and is dated May 18, 1800. John Kinzie and William Burnett were the witnesses. It was delivered and recorded in the Wayne County Files on September 18, 1800. The reason for disposing his holdings here is unknown and the cabin which he is supposed to have sold to Le Mai in 1796, in the light of this document, is a mystery.⁴⁰

From Chicago he went to St. Charles, Missouri, and there are frequent references to him in the St. Charles County Files from the year 1804 until 1814.⁴¹ However, with the year 1800 and his departure from Chicago his story as far as it concerns the present purpose ceases. For more than twenty years his name was associated with Chicago, and in such a manner that the city need have no apology for him. Here was a frontiersman who lived with an air of regality, and if the city which traces her permanency from him adopted, at a later date, the motto "I will," she can be sure that the first Chicagoan had all the qualities that this slogan implies.

THOMAS A. MEEHAN

³⁷ Stella M. Drumm, in *op. cit.*, appendix, 154.

³⁸ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 71-72.

³⁹ Milo M. Quaife, "The Property of Jean Baptiste Point Sable," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (1928-1929), XV, 89-92.

⁴⁰ The location of Point du Saible's farm and home was on the north bank of the Chicago River not far from its mouth. In all probability his house was on the site occupied by the Kirk Building, that is on the east side of Michigan Boulevard at the River.

⁴¹ Stella M. Drumm, in *op. cit.*, 154-155.

DOCUMENTS

La Salle's Jesuit Days

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death, March 19, 1687, of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, the celebrated explorer, recalls the memory of that interesting personality. His career of exploration in North America is widely known; scarcely known at all is his career as a one-time Jesuit. In view of this present interest and of the general lack of knowledge in America of an obscure phase of the life of La Salle, it may not be amiss to offer a partial reproduction of an article on the subject, which appeared first as a preface to some newly discovered Marquette and La Salle letters in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*.¹ Since this publication of the Jesuits is not readily available to readers in our country, and since the three letters of Robert Cavelier were published as they were written in Latin, there are added motives in presenting again the article in part and the letters in an English translation.

As early as 1697 the Recollect, Father Louis Hennepin, mentioned that La Salle had at one time been a Jesuit.² In the passage in question, Hennepin, an excellent raconteur, tells an incident that occurred when he was crossing the Atlantic in company with La Salle and Bishop Laval. The Bishop having entrusted to Hennepin the spiritual charge of some young women aboard the ship, the friar rebuked them on one occasion for some impropriety of conduct. For this he was taken to task by La Salle, who told him that his attitude towards the ship's officers and others on board was that of a "pedant." Hennepin retorted that he himself had never been a "pedant." These words seemed to have angered La Salle, who took them to be an uncomplimentary allusion to his one-time rôle of a Jesuit teacher. Governor Frontenac's secretary, M. de Barrois, who was present at the scene, took Hennepin aside and informed him to his surprise that La Salle had been with the Jesuits at one time and had

¹ Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* (Rome), IV, 1935, 268-290.

² Louis Hennepin, *Découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697, Avis au lecteur.

taught in their schools "pendant dix ou onze ans" [!]. Yet despite this clear mention of La Salle's Jesuit life, even until recent times it has not met with general credence and has been doubted in reputable works.³

The Cavaliers of Rouen in Normandy were wholesale merchants or dealers (*merciers en gros*) of the solid burgher class. The explorer's uncle, Henri Cavalier, was one of the famous Hundred Associates identified with the founding of Montreal, while his father, Nicolas Cavalier, is qualified in a contemporary document as an "honorable homme."⁴ The supplementary name, La Salle, was derived from a seigneurie in the family possession. Born at Rouen, November 21, 1643, Robert Cavalier studied for six years in the local Jesuit college, from which he passed to the Jesuit novitiate at Paris, October 5, 1658, being then only fourteen.⁵ For novice-master he had a skilful director of souls, Père Mouret. "Exuberantly healthy, big-sized, lusty, proud, impressionable, stubborn, domineering, hot-tempered,"⁶ young Cavalier took himself bravely in hand, seeking to adjust his difficult nature to the exigencies of the religious life. Some success must have attended his efforts, some solid hope of further success in the future must have been entertained, for he was permitted to pronounce his first vows, which he did October 10, 1660, taking on this occasion Ignatius for his middle name out of the devotion to the founder of his order. Having thus become by reason of his vows an "approved scholastic" of the Society of Jesus, he was henceforth known in his Jesuit days as Brother, or, (during his teaching years) Master Robert Ignatius Cavalier.⁷

³ Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1880, 2; Parkman says much about the incompatibility of his hero's temperament with the Jesuit rule, but does not admit as a fact beyond dispute that La Salle lived under that rule, stating, "though doubt has been expressed of the statement, it is probably true" that he was once a Jesuit. The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, New York, 1911, XVI, 230, mentions some connection with the Jesuits as probable; the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1910, IX, 8, and the *Encyclopedia Italiana*, 1933, X, 555, are more hazy. Any least doubt in the matter has been inexcusable for the last forty years as the documentary evidence was produced by De Rochemonteix in *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e Siècle*, 1896, III, 10 f. This is the only printed source of reliable data on La Salle as a Jesuit.

⁴ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1889, I, 34.

⁵ De Rochemonteix, *loc. cit.* For a critical bibliography the reader is referred to *Archivum Historicum* as cited, p. 273, n. 14.

⁶ De Rochemonteix, III, 42.

⁷ Robert Cavalier as a Jesuit did not make use of the additional family name, de La Salle. A patent of nobility issued to him in later years by Louis XIV authorized him to adopt the title "escuyer," which he did subse-

From the novitiate Cavalier passed in the fall of 1660 to the Collège Henri IV at La Flèche, there to begin his philosophy. This was a three-year course embracing instruction chiefly in logic, physics, metaphysics and mathematics. Logic and metaphysics were taught in Latin, the other two subjects, from about the middle of the seventeenth century, in French. The two French schools of the period best equipped for the teaching of physical science and mathematics were La Flèche and the sister Jesuit college of Clermont or Louis-le-Grand in Paris.⁸ At La Flèche a succession of eminent professors and writers in these two fields of study lent éclat to the institution. René Descartes, its most celebrated pupil, was there initiated into the mysteries of the higher mathematics, afterwards giving testimony to the high level of the instruction. At La Flèche as at Louis-le-Grand mathematics was an elastic term, including as it did courses also in geography, astronomy and hydrography, the last-named subject corresponding to present-day navigation or nautical science.⁹ The first textbook on hydrography to appear in France came from Georges Fournier, professor of mathematics for six years (1629-1635) at La Flèche. The use of the globes and of the quadrant and other measuring instruments was taught. The importance assumed by the physical sciences and mathematics in the La Flèche and Paris curricula was due largely to the presence in these schools of numerous sons of the nobility who were looking forward to a career in the army or navy. At the time Cavalier registered at La Flèche the rector of the institution was Jacques Grandamay, a mathematician of repute, while the actual professor of mathematics was Jean de Riennes, who had taught the subject with distinction for forty years.

These data on a certain phase of the teaching at La Flèche are not without relevance to the matter in hand as the only subject in which Robert Cavalier seems to have distinguished him-

quently, as in a will of his dated Quebec, August 11, 1681, and signed "Robert Cavalier, escuyer, Sieur de la Salle." Margry, *Mémoires*, II, 163.

⁸ For data on this interesting topic in the history of French education cf. Camille de Rochemonteix, S. J., *Le Collège Henri IV de la Flèche*, Le Mans, 1889, IV, 132-147; Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, Paris, 1921, I, 149-154; 184-192.

⁹ Geography, including the type known as "mathematical geography," which dealt with longitude, latitude and cognate topics, was a conspicuous feature of both the Henri IV and Louis-le-Grand program of studies. Through Jesuit missionaries in the field or returning to Europe the teaching staffs of the two schools came into possession of a great fund of scientific and cultural data about foreign parts, especially China, the Levant, South America and Canada.

self while at this school was mathematics. An estimate of his qualifications submitted at this period by his immediate superior to the General notes: "excellent ability, has talent for mathematics."¹⁰ La Salle himself in his letters to the General testified to his proficiency in this subject of the curriculum. It is not impertinent to observe here that La Salle's entire academic formation was obtained at Jesuit hands. "He had received," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹¹ "the best education of the day, that of the Jesuits." That he had profited by his education is vouched for by his intimate, Joutel, who speaks of "his great knowledge in the arts and sciences."

Having spent the two scholastic years 1660-1661 and 1661-1662 at La Flèche, Cavalier should normally have remained there another year to complete the usual triennium in philosophy. Instead he was assigned, October, 1662, to a grammar class at Alençon. The following year he was back again at La Flèche, taking various courses in mathematics and thus completing the full round of his philosophical studies. We next find him in Jesuit schools at Tours (1664-1665) and Blois (1665-1666), again as an instructor in grammar classes. Meantime, the various duties assigned him since he left the noviceship and his reaction thereto had given superiors ample opportunity to appraise his character. Père de la Faluère, his rector at Tours, reported of him: "a poor student, self-opinionated, of very middling judgment and prudence."¹² The rector at La Flèche, Père Benoise, made a similar report: "good talent, poor judgment, little prudence."¹³ Père de la Faluère added a trait which, more than any other, was characteristic of La Salle to the end; he described him as "inquietus" or "restless." Parkman was later to portray him as "incapable of repose."¹⁴

¹⁰ "Ingenium optimum, talentum habet ad mathematica." (*Catalogus 2dus.*) De Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, III, 43. Cavalier had occasion in his post-Jesuit days to put his mathematics to practical use. He was the first to determine, which he did with accuracy, the latitude of Chicago. R. M. Knight and L. H. Zeuch, *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the seventeenth century*, Chicago Historical Society, 1928, 24. It may be noted, too, that his use of the name Checagou (Chicago) to designate the site of the future metropolis is, as far as can be ascertained, the first on record. Margry, II, 82.

¹¹ Fourteenth Edition, XIII, 731.

¹² "Parum studiosus, in suo sensu abundans, judicium valde mediocre, prudentia valde mediocris." (*Catalogus 2dus*, ann. 1665.) De Rochemonteix, III, 44.

¹³ "Ingenium bonum, judicium tenue, prudentia parva." De Rochemonteix, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Parkman, 407.

Evidence of Cavalier's restlessness came to the surface in the premature appeals he made to the General, Oliva, to be dispatched to the foreign missions. He was at this time still engaged in the duties of instructor, not having yet completed the term of years usually spent by the Jesuit scholastics in this occupation.¹⁵ From Blois he wrote to the General, March 28, 1666, (*infra* I), asking to be sent to China, either immediately, in which case he proposed to pursue there his studies for the priesthood, or later on, when he should have completed these studies in whatever place superiors should determine. A few days later, April 5, he wrote again to the General, (*infra* II), suggesting, as a means of facilitating the way to China, that he be allowed to accept a teaching position in Portugal, it having come to his knowledge that the Portuguese Jesuits desired the services of an instructor in mathematics and Greek for one of their colleges. Cavalier received answers to both his letters. Replying May 4, 1666, to the first, Father Oliva commended the young Jesuit's zeal for the foreign missions as "excellent" and bade him foster it; but he let him know that he was to dismiss forthwith all thought of immediately translating his zeal into action as the moment for such a step had not arrived. Meantime, he was to prepare himself for the foreign missions by seeking earnestly to equip himself with the learning necessary to labor with profit in that important field.¹⁶ To Cavalier's petition to be allowed to go to Portugal as an instructor, the General wrote that it needed no answer than what was contained in his previous letter of May 4. One concession to the scholastic resulted from the correspondence. Instead of being assigned further years of teaching, the usual procedure, he was permitted, at the early age of twenty-three, to begin his theology, which he did in October, 1666, at La Flèche. Here he first reacted favorably to the exact discipline and orderly routine of seminary life; he became more settled, more tranquil. But soon the innate restlessness reasserted itself. He wrote to Oliva, December 1, 1666, asking again to be sent to Portugal, this time to finish his theology in that country, where he could with greater convenience prepare for the journey to

¹⁵ It was customary at this time for the young Jesuit professors to conduct successively the various classes of the *Ratio Studiorum* from the sixth or fifth to rhetoric excluded. This meant from four to five years of teaching.

¹⁶ "... sed [debes] accuratam interim operam dare ut missioni externae, quam postulas, utilissimus esse possis ac necessario videlicet consuetæ doctrinae commeatu instructus." De Rochemonteix, III, 45.

China. The General answered: "remain quietly in your province until you have finished your studies and third probation, after which I shall try to give effect to your desire, which is quite full of genuine zeal."¹⁷

Father Oliva's disposition of the case, a prudent one under the circumstances, failed to commend itself to the headstrong scholastic, who was soon petitioning for his release from the order and from his vows. Both the Rector's consultors at La Flèche and the Provincial's consultors at Paris recommended that the petition be granted, realizing no doubt the imprudence of allowing the young man to go on to the priesthood. Forwarded, together with all necessary information from superiors and consultors about the case, to Rome, the petition elicited from the Father General a communication under date of March 1, 1667, to the Provincial at Paris, Père Bordier, in which the latter was authorized to furnish Cavelier with letters of dismissal. An official Jesuit register has the entry: "Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier left the college of La Flèche March 28, 1667."¹⁸ To Cavelier himself, whose letter of January 10, 1667, to the General had alleged the various grounds on which he felt justified in asking for his dismissal, Father Oliva wrote paternally February 26, informing him that the Provincial had been authorized to release him and adding: "Do you, my very dear Brother, wherever and in whatsoever station of life you be, remember whence you have fallen and keep in mind the rock from which you have been cut away, and though separated in place, try to live ever in union of heart with us and with Jesus. His grace be always with you."¹⁹ "La Salle," comments an American historian, "appar-

¹⁷ "Quare quieto tibi in provincia licebit esse quoad studiis et tertia probatione peracta, desiderium bono zelo plenissimum explere conabimur." *Ibid.*, III, 47. The "third probation" is a third year of noviceship or spiritual training normally discharged by the Jesuit scholastic only after he has received the priesthood.

¹⁸ "Exivit Mag. Robertus Ignatius Cavelier e collegio Flexensi die 28 Martii 1667" (*Catalogus 2dus*). *Ibid.*, III, 48. This date helps to fix the time of La Salle's arrival in Canada. A Margry document (III, 330), originating either with La Salle himself or one of his agents, states: "passa en Canada en 1666." Historians have accepted this date without question. As a matter of fact, he was still in France in the spring of 1667, but probably arrived in Canada before the end of that year.

¹⁹ "Tu vero, charissime Frater, ubicumque et in quocumque statu fueris, memor esto unde excideris et attendito ad petram unde excisus es et quamvis sejunctus loco, corde tamen conare semper nobiscum et cum Jesu vivere. Gratia illius sit semper tecum." De Rochemonteix, III, 48. It is idle to speculate as to whether La Salle had or had not a genuine calling to the religious life and to the priesthood. It has been asserted, on what evidence the present writer cannot ascertain, that he entered the novitiate in defer-

ently left the Jesuits without ill-will on either side."²⁰ The papers from the Jesuit archives pertinent to the episode bear out the statement. It is not irrelevant to add that a generation after the explorer's death the Jesuit historian, Francis Xavier Charlevoix, put on record one of the best balanced tributes to him extant, a tribute notable alike for psychological insight and literary charm.²¹

La Salle's life was all of a piece. Of him, if of anybody, it could be said that the child is father to the man. The same failings which were noted in him by observant Jesuit superiors were those which marked him later in the American wilderness and frustrated so many of his plans. In fine, the Jesuit chapter of his adventures may be said to furnish the key to all his subsequent career; it explains "his entire life in Canada, his projects, his mishaps, his abnormal need of movement, his passion for travel, his faults, his imprudences, his lack of measure, and also his active and ardent faith."²² The last detail is generally overlooked in the portraits of La Salle drawn by the biographers. Certainly his letters to Father Oliva bespeak a lively religious faith. The impression he made on Parkman was that of being "an earnest Catholic."²³ Protesting on one occasion against the improper conduct of his men, he alleged among other reasons why he could not tolerate it, that "he was a Christian" and as such could not take so grave a matter on his conscience.²⁴ The fact is that amid all the temptations of the wilderness to loose living his moral conduct does not seem to have been open to reproach. The Recol-

ence to the wishes of his father and against his own will. On the face of it, the assertion is hardly probable. In any case, he lived as a religious nine years before deciding to pass to another side of life. If his vocation was genuine, the grace to enable him to persevere in it was no doubt at hand. At the same time, his natural temperament, apart from any change it might have undergone with the help of divine grace, plainly unfitted him to live as a religious with happiness to himself or good to others. Parkman, for all his Protestant prejudices and misconceptions, understood enough of Jesuit ideals (which substantially do not differ from those of the religious life in general) to see this: "a youth, whose exterior hid an inexhaustible fund of pride and who by a necessity of his nature could obey no initiative but his own, was not after the model that Loyola commended to his followers" (*op. cit.*, 3). All things considered, it seems altogether providential that La Salle stopped short of the priesthood.

²⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 12.

²¹ F. X. Charlevoix, *Histoire de description générale de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1749, III, 36-38. Strange to say, Margry (I, Introduction) takes exception to Charlevoix's portrait of La Salle as being "unjust."

²² De Rochemonteix, III, 49.

²³ Parkman, 2.

²⁴ La Salle had been characterized by one of his Jesuit superiors as "scrupulous," namely, hesitating and overcautious in matters of conscience from fear of committing sin.

lect, Père Zénobe Membré, one of his chaplains, wrote that "he was correct in his morals."²⁵ And Parkman noted that "in his faults the love of pleasure had no part."²⁶ La Salle's nine years of religious life had left their impression.

The Latin originals of the following letters which shed so much light on the Jesuit career of La Salle are in the Jesuitica (*Fondo Gesuitico*) of the Archives of the Gesù, Rome. They belong to a carefully indexed collection of petitions from Jesuits of every country in Europe, who in the course of the years were asking permission of the Father General of the Society to go to the foreign missions. The collection bears the title "*Indipetae*" or "petitioners for the Indies," Indies being a conventional term for the foreign missions in general.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

I.

Robert Cavelier to the General, Oliva, March 28, 1666 (*Fondo Gesuitico*, *Indipetae*, Busta 26, n. 150).

Very Reverend Father in Christ,
The Peace of Christ:

I have long doubted whether I should write to your Paternity this letter in which I solicit of it the one thing which to my regret has so far been wanting to my happiness of life. The unrelenting pressure of God's call has at length decided the issue; decisive also have been the chastisements with which He urged me on to obey His will when I dallied and put the matter off to another time. For eight full years, which is ever since my entrance into the Society, I have ever been desiring and petitioning with the greatest eagerness for admission into China. My sins, which up to this have been very great, have prevented me from realizing the object of all my hopes and wishes, and things, so it seemed, had come to such a pass that no hope was apparently any longer in sight. I confess indeed that I have no qualifications or moral strength for so high a ministry. I recognize my feebleness and it is by relying more on your Paternity's piety and zeal for souls than on anything else that I dare to take so important a business in hand. But now, on bended knees, through the merits of Jesus Christ and the blood He shed, by the salva-

²⁵ "... était sage et réglé dans ses moeurs." Cited in De Rochemonteix, III, 49, n. 1.

²⁶ Parkman, 3.

tion of those souls who for want of teachers to lead them into the way of salvation are daily falling under the dominion of hell, by the very ardent charity of my most holy father and patron, Ignatius, I beseech your Very Reverend Paternity to turn on me a kindly look of charity and so refresh my languishing soul. Ah, my father, (pardon me, I pray—the very great ardor of my desire scarcely leaves me master of myself), please have mercy on me. The land in question is badly in need of money, and subsidies. Means will be at my disposal by which I can come to its relief at the rate of six hundred livres a year. I have a very good training in mathematics. I have, too, a ready and retentive memory for languages. Spanish I knew even before my entrance into the Society, and I am fairly well versed in Arabic and Hebrew. I am large and robust of body and in particular am capable to a high degree of enduring heat and cold. However, I am in imminent danger of stone, which the doctors say I can escape only by getting to China rather quickly as the climate there is very agreeable and the work I should be at, beneficial. For this reason I cannot give myself to literary studies at all owing to the steady grind of application which they require, whereas, on the contrary, I shall apply myself to theological studies easily and with almost no trouble at all, for a mind with capacity for them does not need such a deal of continuous reading. For the rest I freely forego both theology and the profession, having only one request to make, namely, that it be given me to reach the goal of my hope and desire some time or other. I would petition with a like attraction for the other missions also were it not that the doctors pronounce them distinctly bad for the disease which threatens me. So now, as I have reached by twenty-third year . . . [Ms. obscure] and am teaching grammar for the third year, I most humbly plead with your Very Reverend Paternity to deign either to send me thither [to China], there to become a priest, or else to put me at theology for as many years and in whatever place he should wish, so that I may arrive the sooner at that haven of salvation, to be for eternity

Your Very Reverend Paternity's

most humble son and servant in Christ

Robert Ignatius Cavalier of the Society of Jesus

Blois, March 8, 1666

II.

Robert Cavelier to the General, Oliva, April 5, 1666 (*Ibid.*, Busta 26, n. 151).

Blois, April 5, 1666

Very Reverend Father in Christ,
The Peace of Christ:

I wrote not long ago to your Paternity asking for permission to sail for China. As I am very anxious to do this and the matter seems to present some difficulty, it has occurred to me that I heard one time from Rev. Father Brisacier that the Portuguese Fathers were looking for an instructor to teach mathematics and greek. As I can very easily fill this position, being rather well up in both subjects, I became quite convinced that the matter ought to be put before your Paternity as offering a way, so I hoped, by which he could more easily grant my request. Reverend Father Brisacier has written on the subject to the Rev. Father Assistant of Portugal. I, too, have written about it to him as also to the Rev. Father Assistant of France, offering my services and pleading with great fervor for the favor which now, with the humblest and most ardent of prayers I eagerly implore of your Paternity, on whom the whole affair depends. I pledge myself so to acquit myself of the charge in question that no one will find me lacking on the score of zeal or efficiency,—if only after some years I be allowed to go to China. Traveling expenses will be met as often as necessary by my parents, who will also contribute eight thousand livres to the Chinese Mission. So, Very Rev. Father, I beseech your Paternity to grant me this supreme favor and not to suffer my languishing and sighing soul to wear itself out with further yearning, so that I may attribute to him the credit of so great a favor received as I already pledge myself

Your Very Rev. Paternity's

Most humble son and servant in Christ
Rob. Ignatius Cavelier, S. J.

III.

Robert Cavelier to the General, Oliva, Dec. 1, 1666 (*Ibid.*, Busta 26, n. 169).

La Flèche, Dec. 1, 1666

Very Reverend Father in Christ,
The peace of Christ.

I wrote twice to your Paternity last year about the Chinese

mission, which I beg your Paternity now at last to grant to me, to my wishes and tears. Your Paternity wrote back saying that he desired me, before I thought of such high things to lay up a store of learning. I readily acquiesce, but as the acquisition of knowledge does not seem to be a matter depending much on particular places, I humbly entreat your Paternity to allow me to finish my course of theology, which I am now studying for the first time, among the Portuguese. For the fear of stone with all accompanying danger has disappeared nor do the Portuguese Fathers themselves seem to be averse, if your Paternity agree. God has granted me many aids in support of my proposal: I^o a knowledge of the greek, hebrew and spanish languages and some elementary notions of arabic. Moreover, I have made such progress in mathematics that I can easily teach it. Nor will my misdeeds, so I hope, be an impediment since I offer myself only to be put on probation in Portugal. I shall pay my travelling expenses through my parents and give that exceedingly poor mission five hundred livres a year. I therefore suppliantly beg your Paternity to give me a share in those precious chains which are said to weigh on Ours in China and not suffer me to lead a useless life when so many people are daily falling a prey to demons, souls perhaps to be rescued from their hands by my blood (if God is going to grant me so great a favor). Let only your Paternity command me to be off, alone and a beggar, to desert wastes, so great is my confidence in the divine goodness that not even the prospect of death itself will cause me to make the least delay. Thus shall I fulfill the vow which I made to God with the approval of my superiors, thus also shall I make satisfaction to God Himself for so many souls to whom I have been a stumbling-block.

Very Reverend Father in Christ

Your Paternity's most humble servant
and son in Christ

Robert Ignatius Cavelier, S. J.

Jesuit Travel to New Spain (1678-1756)¹

The initial impetus to missionary activity in the Spanish overseas dominions was given by Pope Alexander VI in the Bull of May 4, 1493, addressed to Their Catholic Majesties, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain. That portion of the Bull which expresses the Pope's order to spread the Catholic faith reads: "And moreover we command you, in virtue of holy obedience, that as you promise and we doubt not will perform by reason of your very great devotion and royal magnanimity, you shall despatch to the aforesaid mainlands and islands upright and God-fearing men, learned, skilful and experienced, to instruct the aforesaid natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith, and to imbue them with good morals, using all due diligence in the premises."²

Impelled by their own strong Catholic zeal and in response to the command of Pope Alexander VI, Ferdinand and Isabella gave their support and permission to the sending of missionaries to the new colonies, hereby initiating a policy which was pursued by subsequent Spanish rulers. Thus was well begun the great work of converting to Christianity the natives of Spain's colonies even before the founding in 1534 of the Society of Jesus, a religious organization which was to take a major part in this heroic labor.³

Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus as a missionary society,⁴ and as a missionary society it contributed spiritual con-

¹ Most of the material in this article is derived from *Jesuit travel to America (1678-1756) as recorded in the travel diaries of German Jesuits* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1934) by the writer, Theodore Edward Treutlein.—EDITOR.

² Benjamin Franklin Stevens, ed., *Christopher Columbus: His Own Book of Privileges, 1502* (London, 1893), 182-197. Document XXXVI, Bull of Pope Alexander VI, with notarial certificate, 30 December, 1502, should be 1501, 4 May, 1493.

³ The founding of the Society of Jesus was sanctioned by Pope Paul III in 1540.

⁴ The Society of Jesus became an active force in the "Counter-Reformation" very soon after its founding but this fact is explained more by the circumstance that the founding of the Society occurred in a period of religious turmoil than by the specific intent of its founder. See Anton Huonder, *Der heilige Ignatius von Loyola und der Missionsberuf der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Abhandlungen aus Missionskunde und Missionsgeschichte (Aachen, 1922), XXXV. In this monograph Huonder tells of Loyola's preoccupation with the missionary cause and shows also that the sanctioning of the Society of Jesus in 1540 by Pope Paul III was intimately associated with the naming of Francis Xavier as *nuncius apostolicus* to the East.

quistadores who boarded ships to sail with colonists and soldiers to the overseas possessions of the Catholic colonizing countries. The Jesuits began their work in the American colonies of Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century, and by 1756, eleven years before the suppression of the Society in Spain and in Spain's dominions, there were in the American provinces of Perú, Paraguay, and Mexico alone a total of fourteen hundred and one members.⁵

Hundreds of Jesuit missionaries traveled the long way from their European provinces to New Spain. The body of letters and travel diaries which they wrote to the superiors of the Society and to their relatives and friends is one of the best sources for the study of one phase of colonial western hemisphere history, travel to New Spain.

The travel diaries vary in length depending upon the bent which the particular missionary had for chronicling the events of the journey, and apparently upon the actual eventfulness of the journey itself. Most of the letters give more space to the extraordinary than to the commonplace, but many contain detailed travel descriptions. The letter, slow form of communication though it was, became a slender thread which tied the missionary to home, friends, and to the life which he had renounced. Father Ernest Steigmiller leaves us a record of how slow the exchange of correspondence could be when he writes in a communication of 1727 addressed to the Reverend Father Sigismund Pusch at the Jesuit College in Graz: "The letter of Your Reverence of July 3, 1726, was handed to me in my Indian village [Patute, South America] on September 23, 1727; that is, five weeks and two days ago, after having been on the way only one year, two months, and twenty days."⁶

⁵ Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des spanischen Amerika* (Halle, 1809), Introduction, xxx. In Perú, 526 missionaries; in Paraguay, 303; in Mexico, 572.

⁶ Letter 391 in Joseph Stöcklein, eds., Francis Keller, and others, *Allerhand so lehr- als geist-reiche Brief scrifften und reis-beschreibungen/ welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus beyden Indien/ und andern über meer gelegenen Ländern/ . . . in Europa angelangt seynd . . .* (Vienna, Grätz, and Augsburg, 1726-1761), 38 Parts. The frontispiece in the Augsburg, Grätz edition of this work, I, 1726, bears the inscription, "Der neue welt-bott mit allerhand nachrichten deren missionarien Soc. Jesu." Beneath this appears the figure of an angel apparently towing the world sphere and bearing a scroll in the right hand and the symbol of the Society in the left. Underneath is the quotation, "I bring you good tidings of great joy," *Luke*, ii, 10. The letters contained in the volumes are numbered consecutively and are most conveniently cited by number. Hereinafter this work will be cited *Welt-Bott*, with the number of the letter.

Many letters were sent to superiors and to fellow members of the Society of Jesus so that the travel descriptions might be disseminated among the Jesuits who had remained in Europe. Almost always there was included in these accounts information calculated to arouse yet greater interest in and zeal for the missionary work. Father Francis Favier, for instance, tells in his letter from the Jesuit estate of San Borja near Mexico City in 1723 of the great need for missionaries in Mexico. A member of the Society in Mexico had said that if an entire Jesuit province of Europe should come to the Mexican missions all of its members would find enough work to do. And Favier adds that his only purpose in mentioning this is "so that I shall increase the desire to enter missionary work in some in whose hearts it already slumbers."

Letters from overseas were circulated in the Jesuit colleges in Europe and the writer generally requested that the recipient of the letter as well as the members of the entire province remember him and his companions of the journey in their prayers. Hand-to-hand circulation of letters was but one way of spreading news from the travelers, however. Travel accounts were printed for wider distribution in *Der neue welt-bott*,⁷ a German counterpart of the French *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*,⁸ and first edited by Father Joseph Stöcklein, S. J. The combined volumes of the *Welt-Bott* form one of the greatest sources extant for the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel and missionary activity. A short and hurriedly written letter from the pen of Father Francis Gutman addressed to the editor of the *Welt-Bott* describes briefly the voyage from Genoa to Cádiz. The letter was mailed in 1730 at the port of the Spanish city. In the first paragraph Father Gutman writes: "I hope that this letter will reach Grätz in time to be included in the *Welt-Bott*."¹⁰ And Father Xavier Wagner boasts and admonishes in a letter of 1736 from Mexico when commenting upon the ignorance of the Italians and the Sardinians "to whom all is strange, for neither in Italy nor in Sardinia have they the reports which we read in

⁷ *Welt-Bott*, 212.

⁸ See above, p. 105, footnote 6. An interesting biographical sketch of Father Stöcklein is contained in Bernhard Duhr, *Deutsche auslandsehn-sucht im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1928), 45-49.

⁹ C. le Gobien, J. B. du Halde, N. Maréchal, and L. Patouillet, eds., *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères* (Paris, 1702-76), 14 vols. The letters incorporated in this work were written by Jesuit missionaries.

¹⁰ *Welt-Bott*, 392.

Father Stöcklein. So that when anything new occurs and they are surprised by it, the Germans laugh, saying 'we knew that long before.' It is advisable for anyone who has the desire to come here to read the *Welt-Bott* well and often; it will be helpful to him."¹¹

The *Welt-Bott* was studied by would-be missionaries, as attested by Father Wagner's letter. Indeed, the first edition of the work, 1727, had been read at table by the Jesuits.¹² Thus, as a source of information concerning the missions and as reports which stimulated men to become evangelists in foreign lands, the individual communications received from missionaries and those incorporated in the *Welt-Bott* had a considerable influence in causing still others to travel the long road from western Europe to the far-flung mission areas, among which the one of New Spain was conspicuous.

Eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries who were going to New Spain from their German and Austrian Provinces traveled the well-established routes in coaches and wagons, aboard ships, on horse or mule-back, and on foot.¹³ Journeying usually in groups they endured the weary toil of travel itself with food and water often scarce or lacking, and suffered the dangers of hostile populations, of pirates and privateers, of sea-sickness, storms, shipwrecks, earthquakes, drownings, and of yellow fever.

The route followed led first from the German or the Austrian Province to the city of Genoa where coaches were abandoned for ships sailing to Cádiz. From Cádiz the travelers sailed past the Canary Islands and then in the path of the northeast trade wind, somewhere near the twenty-first parallel, to the West Indies islands. Here a stop was made at Puerto Rico or Aguada on the Island of Puerto Rico, or at Ocoa on the Island of Santo Domingo. Then the voyage was continued directly to Vera Cruz, although on occasion a stop was made at Havana, Cuba. At Vera Cruz the missionaries mounted mules or horses and proceeded to Maltratta or to Jalapa, thence to Puebla de los Angeles, and

¹¹ *Aus: Jesuitica*, 283. Letter of P. Francis Xavier Wagner from the Austrian Province, dated at Mexico, 1 May, 1736. Typed transcript from the fine collection of *Jesuitica* at the *Staatsarchiv*, Munich.

¹² Duhr, *op. cit.*, 47.

¹³ A study of many diaries has revealed certain generalizations which apply to the journey from western Europe to New Spain. Since the accounts studied cover a period of seventy-eight years (1678-1756) it is impossible to combine them into one "master" narrative, as was done by Archer B. Hulbert, for example, in *Forty-niners: The Chronicle of the California Trail* (Boston, 1932).

finally along a well-traveled *camino real* to Mexico City, the immediate goal of their journey.

If Vienna is considered a starting place, then the Jesuits can be pictured seated in the post-coach on its way to Graz. From there the route went through Trieste, Venice, Padua, Milan, and Pavia to Genoa. If they departed from a German Province the chances are they traveled singly or in pairs to some convenient starting place like Augsburg or Munich, riding in the post-coaches that far, and once in a group, bargaining with the driver of a "coach-and-four" to take them all the way to Genoa. Leaving Augsburg they would spend the first night in Landsberg, and from there continue through Innsbruck, via the Brenner Pass to Trento, through the Chiusa Pass to Roverto, to the Venetian border, and along the southern end of Lake Garda, through Brescia, Milan, and Pavia to Genoa.

The German Jesuits did not always choose Genoa as a place of embarkation for Spain. Occasionally they went to Amsterdam and there boarded a vessel whose destination was Seville or Cádiz. But with this exception Genoa was almost always the rendezvous of Jesuits going to Spain from the Bohemian, Austrian, German, and Italian Provinces of the Society.¹⁴

At Genoa the missionaries, as many as forty in a group, boarded either an English or a Genoese ship and sailed to Cádiz. On this voyage many a missionary had his first experience with the sea and found to his discomfiture that one is not necessarily born a sailor. Sea-sickness was understood to be a malady caused by the "sea-air" to which one later became accustomed. It was believed also that should one escape sea-sickness he would be the more violently land-sick when the voyage was terminated.

The voyage from Genoa to Cádiz was not devoid of incidents thought worth recording by the missionaries. Father Gerstl described in 1678 the celebration of the "summer solstice festival" by the hanging of twenty lighted lanterns on the ship and the placing of a tub containing ignited pitch upon the water.¹⁵ Storms and the danger from enemy ships added zest to the voyage, but of particular interest were the ports of call such as

¹⁴ The Bohemian Province became separated from the Austrian Province in 1623. The term "German Provinces" as used here refers to the Upper German Province, and the Upper and Lower Rhine Provinces (separated in 1626). See Anton Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1899), p. 11, footnote 5; p. 15, footnote 1.

¹⁵ *Welt-Bott*, 31.

Toulon, Alicante, at times Cartagena, where there was a small Jesuit college, and Malaga. Alicante, famous for its wine, was also the residence in 1754 of the one-time Governor of Buenos Aires, Don Pasqual, whose hospitality to the missionaries was gratefully recorded in Father Och's account of his journey.¹⁶ At Cartagena were the royal shipyards and warehouses which contained hemp, flax, mast, nails, iron fittings, anchors, sails, ropes, beams and timbers, pitch, resin, tallow, and other ship materials. Och and his companions had the good fortune to have arrived in Cartagena on the day of the feast of Santa Barbara, December 4th, 1754, and at night they were rowed about the harbor in a royal barge while the war vessels engaged in a sham battle that was accompanied by a colorful rocket display.¹⁷ Under especially favorable conditions the voyage from Genoa to Cádiz might be made in about two weeks but more frequently the time required was nearly twice that.

Upon arrival at Cádiz, ships were quarantined before passengers were permitted to disembark. The length of this quarantine varied from five to ten days; if, however, an entering vessel had been exposed to infection, as long as a forty-day quarantine might be imposed. This being the case, captains of vessels sailing to Spain took precautionary measures to avoid inconvenient delay. Father Och notes in his diary the method then used to prevent infection.¹⁸ He recounts that shortly out of Alicante on the voyage to Cádiz (1 December, 1754) they sighted an English ship which signaled that it wished to speak with them. As the two ships neared one another

both captains spoke through megaphones. The ship had a packet of letters for our captain. They lowered a boat and came toward us but our captain did not allow any of them to come aboard. Instead, the letters were received in a wire-covered dish half filled with vinegar. This precaution had to be exercised by the captain to avoid being kept for forty days in quarantine in Cádiz, since the said English ship had come from the Barbary [states] of Africa, from which land are continually brought contagious diseases or the plague.

Once in Spain the missionaries had to expect a long delay before they could secure passage to the New World. During

¹⁶ Herrn P. Joseph Och ". . . Nachrichten, von seinen Reisen nach dem spanischen Nord-Amerika . . . 1757-1767, und rückkehr nach Europa," Murr, *op. cit.* Hereinafter cited Och, *Nachrichten*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Och, *Nachrichten*.

their stay in Spain the travelers were cared for in Jesuit establishments located in Puerto de Santa María and in Seville. Until the beginning of the fourth decade of the eighteenth century the mission-hospice in Puerto de Santa María was quite small and most of the missionaries awaiting passage had to remain in Seville. In Santa María there was later constructed at the general expense of the American Provinces of the Society a large and beautiful mission-hospice and church where the retired missionaries and those who were going overseas were lodged. This establishment was not managed by the Spanish Provincial but by a procurator-general who was in 1744 one Father Castañeda, a native of Perú.¹⁹

The hospice was pleasantly situated near the Guadalete River and from it toward the west could be seen the entire Bay of Cádiz as well as the city on its farther side. The building was of three stories and contained over a hundred rooms. It was built around a courtyard paved in checkerboard pattern with black and white marble blocks which had come from Genoa. Towers and marble pillars added to the beauty of the structure.²⁰

The sojourn in Spain was very important to the new missionary. During the time spent there, which varied from some months to as long as five years, he had the opportunity of adding to his native tongue and Latin a knowledge of the Spanish language, thus becoming tri-lingual. He was in close contact with old, "retired" missionaries who had lived for years among the natives of the Americas or the Philippines, sometimes in the very areas to which he was going, and he received invaluable advice from them about missionary labors. He was on the threshold of a new land and a new experience and his desire to carry his message to the unenlightened was increased. He was told, for example, of the work of "our holy one," Father Hermann Glandorff,²¹ missionary in Tarahumara, Mexico, who was reputed to be a worker of miracles and who was revered as a saint. And the incident was related of the visit of five heathen to the viceroy of Mexico with a request for teachers of Christianity for their people provided that these teachers should be "those who wear black robes on their bodies and four horns on their heads."²²

¹⁹ *Welt-Bott*, 777, extract from a letter written in Santa María, 15 July, 1744, by Father Francis Trarbach to the Provincial in Cologne.

²⁰ Och, *Nachrichten*, for the description of the mission-hospice.

²¹ The writer is preparing a short biography of this saintly man.

²² *Welt-Bott*, 751.

The new missionary had the opportunity of which he made good use to learn arts, crafts, and techniques, later to be taught to the natives. Also with his own hands he made trinkets of many kinds, and fashioned rosaries which were added to his stock of rings, mirrors, scissors, jew's harps, needles, and rosaries, previously purchased.²³ Too, he painted miniatures of saints to enrich his future church in the wilderness. Father Ratkay, born a Hungarian nobleman, states in speaking of the two years spent in Seville awaiting departure for the New World:

We studied not only astronomy, mathematics, and other interesting fields of knowledge, but we ourselves made all sorts of trinkets and worked at practical things. Some of us made compasses or sun-dials and others cases for them; this one sewed cloths and furs, that one learned how to make bottles, another how to solder tin; one busied himself with distilling, a second with the lathe, a third with the art of sculpturing; so that with those goods and skills we might gain the good will of the wild heathen and the more easily give them the truths of the Christian faith.²⁴

The missionaries were able to spend a part of their sojourn in Spain in seeing the country itself. Seville was a common goal for Jesuits who had landed in Cádiz and who were making their headquarters there. Perhaps one reason for their interest in Seville was the Spanish proverb, "Quien no ha visto Sevilla, no ha visto maravilla." The observant missionaries comment upon the beautiful buildings and churches of Seville but those who visited the city in the middle eighteenth century noticed also its decline in commerce and trade, the result of its unsuccessful competition with Cádiz.

The stay in Spain may have been planned by the Society because of its value to the new missionary in preparing him for his future travels and labors. In any event, there were various circumstances and conditions outside the control of the Society which prevented an immediate departure to the mission areas. Sometimes the number of German Jesuits ready to depart from Spain exceeded the quota allowed;²⁵ crowded conditions on the ships kept others from securing passage. Shipwrecks on the

²³ *Aus dem Tagebuch des mexicanischen Missionarius Gottfr. Bernh. Middendorff, 1754-1776*, edited diary in scrap-book form in the library of the Ignatiushaus, Bonn, Germany. Hereinafter cited Middendorff, *Tagebuch*.

²⁴ *Welt-Bott*, 28.

²⁵ See Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre . . .*, 28, for reference to a decree of General Francis Retz, 17 September, 1737, in which Retz states that one-fourth of the number of Jesuits leaving for Paraguay and Buenos Aires may be Germans.

rocks in the port of Cádiz itself, the fear of pirates, and also the possibility of capture by privateers during the periods when Spain was at war with France or with England further delayed or prevented the departure of the missionaries. Then during the last years before the general suppression of the Society of Jesus, the opposition of relentless foes increased the difficulties of sending Jesuits to Spain's colonial possessions.

Before the Jesuits were allowed to leave Spain for the Indies it was necessary that they be given official permission to do so from the Spanish authorities at Madrid who approved the names of all who were leaving and sent them to the governor and consignator at Cádiz. Then the missionaries were brought before a board of inspectors at Cádiz, and of this formality Father Och gives the following description:

At a table were seated several men who looked each of us over from head to foot. Each had to give his name, the country of his birth, his status—whether priest or lay brother—how far advanced he was in his studies, and so on. All this was recorded by the secretary. Then we were again scrutinized for a time by all of them in order that our lineaments and stature could be carefully described, so that none else, no imposter, should embark and slip into the Indies.

I could hardly contain my laughter because of the grave manner in which these men regarded us and dictated a description of our entire physiognomies to the scribe; for example, average or great height, large or small head, black or brown hair, blue or black eyes, pushed-in, bent-in or crooked nose, little or large mouth, pointed or blunt chin, smooth or pock-marked face, short or long neck. All this and more, along with our ages, was incorporated in the report. Such reports are either sent ahead under royal seal to the Indies or must be delivered by the captain of the ship [carrying those so described] to the authorities at the place of arrival to see that there is exact correspondence. No butcher eyes a calf as these men eyed us.²⁶

Despite such precautions there were those who did manage to sail for the Indies without authorization. Father Och describes the *polizones*²⁷ who boarded his vessel as it was setting sail.

. . . we saw many small boats hurriedly row toward us. The ship was surrounded . . . ; about fifty illclad people and beggar boys clambered up the sides, jumped aboard, and crept into corners, wherever they could. The captain, who did not wish to take aboard these uninvited guests, ran

²⁶ Och, *Nachrichten*.

²⁷ Spaniards who passed secretly to Spanish America without leave or passport from the king and government of Spain.

first to this side and then to that with a stout cudgel, hitting where he could to drive them off. The fellows endured blows on their heads, shoulders, arms, and legs without letting go of whatever they had caught hold. Some of them tumbled into the ocean but swam back immediately and swung aboard the ship, for when they were driven off one side by the blows a swarm of them came over the other side of the ship. Such noise, tumult, and comedy I had never witnessed in all my life, and have perhaps never laughed so much as then.

The captain and one who helped him were by no means adequate to withstand this rabble. The sailors did not stir themselves but on the contrary threw ropes and tools to the intruders. In an instant all these fellows had disappeared. . . . They had crept like mice into the hold of the ship and were hidden by the sailors who gave them shelter. Truly, what mice are in a house these wretches are on a vessel. A captain must sustain this rabble during the entire voyage. They make it difficult for the passengers by using the provisions and good water. Nothing is given them to eat or to drink but they maintain themselves anyway, tapping the water casks secretly and drinking as they wish with straws or pipes, while others who belong on the ship must content themselves with a small portion of rationed water. They are given sufficient food and hard-tack by the crew who take it from their own meals, for these fellows are often bottle-companions and acquaintances. The first days all remain hidden, afterwards one after another they creep out and help with the work in order to get left-over food from the sailors. . . .

The captain is authorized to throw them into the ocean or to put them into irons and to set them ashore wherever he lands, even on a desert island. Upon the return to Spain they are condemned to ten years in the fortress of Ceuta in Africa as laborers. Despite this prescribed punishment many sluggards who do not work in Spain take the chance to try their luck in the Indies. . . .²⁸

Cádiz, where were situated the commercial establishments of merchants who "commuted" there from their palatial residences in Santa María, was the exclusive port of departure for ships on which the Jesuits sailed to America between the years 1680 and 1755.²⁹ It was not an easy harbor for a sailing vessel to clear because of reefs in the roadstead where more than one ship was wrecked before it had fairly got under way. In 1724 a fleet of

²⁸ Och, *Nachrichten*.

²⁹ Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre* . . . , 33, "The place of departure for voyagers to the Spanish colonies was and remained . . . Seville from 1503 until 1720, then after the silting up of the Guadalquivir until 1748, practically exclusively Cadiz." This statement is incorrect. All the *Welt-Bott* letters and others (written between 1680 and 1755) which mention the voyage from Spain to the Western Hemisphere name Cadiz as the port of departure. This substantiates Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, 1918), 5-15. In writing of the rivalry between Seville and Cadiz for the colonial trade Haring says that after 1680 all the fleets were required to make the latter port the beginning and the end of their voyages.

twenty-four vessels had just cleared port when a change in the wind forced them to put about and return. Father Bonani says they would have been wrecked had not the Bishop of Cádiz led a solemn procession through the streets of the city as a plea for their rescue.³⁰

An earlier group of missionaries leaving Cádiz in 1680 had not been so fortunate for their ship struck on a reef. On this occasion cannons were fired as signals of distress and the Jesuits were taken ashore in small boats. This calamity meant that they were faced with the prospect of another interminable delay. The father procurator immediately appealed to the president of the merchants, to the admiral of the fleet whom he reached in a skiff, and again to the president, in an effort to get passage for the missionaries—but all to no avail. In desperation he awakened the fatigued missionaries in the dead of night and suggested that they row to the fleet and plead in person to be accommodated.

Accordingly, led by their superior and praising Christ, the Lord, for giving them the opportunity of going forth to preach the Gospel in His example and in the examples of the Apostles Mark and Luke, without bag or baggage, without bread or money, and without double coats, the Jesuits rowed out to the becalmed fleet and asked the captains of the various ships for passage. One captain refused their appeal, another took two aboard. So they made the rounds, going from one ship to the next, but when all had been hailed there were still twelve missionaries who could not find passage and who were forced to return sorrowfully to shore.

There was another one of the original group, however, who was destined to sail although he was not of those who made the rounds of the fleet that night. Simon Poruhradiski from the Bohemian Province had been left under orders to guard the belongings of the missionaries on the disabled vessel. Determined to sail with the other missionaries who he believed had all succeeded in gaining passage, deserting his charge in his eagerness to accompany them, he rented a skiff early in the morning, rowed to the fleet and was taken aboard though others had been turned away.³¹

The departure of a fleet was regulated by strict rules. Once

³⁰ *Welt-Bott*, 172, II.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31. P. Adam Gerstl, excerpts from letters to his father written in Spain and the West Indies, 30 June, 1678—14 July, 1681.

the passengers were aboard and the order had been given for weighing anchor, the port had to be cleared. Laggards were heavily fined by the officials of the Spanish admiralty. In case of a calm, therefore, ships unable to sail were sometimes kedged out of the harbor regardless of the fact that they might find themselves becalmed outside for an indefinite time. Such a delayed sailing worked hardships on the passengers because of the ruling which made the captain of a vessel responsible for the welfare of his passengers only when the ship was under full sail. Often the travelers went hungry for a day or more until a fair breeze arose.

Travel diaries of the Jesuits indicate that ships sailing to Vera Cruz in the summer months invariably made better time than did those leaving Cádiz in the winter.³² Reasons for this are found in the meteorological conditions which are more favorable during the summer months than at any other time of the year for an Atlantic crossing under sail in the north-east trade wind belt, and also for navigation in the Caribbean Sea and in the Gulf of Mexico.³³ Winter or summer, however, almost every crossing was made perilous by storms. Valuable cargo was jettisoned to lighten vessels; sails were slit and masts cut off to prevent capsizing.

Besides the danger from storms, the depredations of corsairs and privateers were the greatest hazard to a safe arrival in ports of the Americas. This menace was present only between Spain and the Canaries and in the Caribbean Sea where, generally, marauders confined their activities. As a protection against them two war vessels sailed with the fleets. One, the *capitana*, the flagship and the largest vessel in the fleet commanded by the fleet's general, sailed in the van; the other, the *almiranta*, aboard which was the admiral, brought up the rear and protected laggards. Sometimes the convoy accompanied vessels from Cádiz only until they were believed to be out of danger from pirates having north African bases. Then, presumably, navigation was safe from marauders on the *Golfo de las Damas*³⁴ until the fleet

³² Ships sailed also in the spring and autumn, but more often in summer and winter.

³³ Cf. *Pilot chart of the north Atlantic ocean* (Washington, D. C., Hydrographic Office).

³⁴ Oeh, *Nachrichten*, says that the general region of the Atlantic between the Canary Islands and the Antilles was called the *Golfo de las Damas* because it was calm. The path of the westerlies, however, used by vessels returning to Spain from the West Indies was as turbulent as "spirited mares" and hence that part of the Atlantic Ocean was referred to as the *Golfo de Yeguas*.

reached the Caribbean area where the armadas maintained by Spain were supposed to provide a safeguard. Pirates infested the Caribbean and Gulf waters, however, despite the efforts of Spain to drive them out, and the royal fleets and merchantmen had to be constantly on guard when in West Indies waters.

Under sail on the Atlantic a definite ship's schedule was followed. Some members of the crew fed and cared for the fowl and live-stock carried aboard the ships;³⁵ the baker baked fresh bread several times daily in the galley; the navigators plotted the course; lookouts watched for strange sails and later for the sight of land when the Lesser Antilles were being neared. Constant communication between the various ships of the fleet was maintained by flag- and cannon-signals, by the exchange of messages carried by small, swift-sailing ships, and by "councils-of-war" when the *capitana* gave the signal. For a council-of-war all the vessels drew near and hove-to while the officers and helmsmen compared notes and agreed upon their position or decided how to repair a disabled ship. The captains of the fleet possessed duplicate records which contained texts and passwords for each day. Passwords were exchanged by megaphone and were used in challenging unknown ships to determine whether they be friend or foe.³⁶

On important religious feasts such as St. James' Day, St. Ignatius' Day, or the feast of the Assumption, the fleet displayed banners, fired cannons, and celebrated High Mass on each vessel. In the evening perhaps a play was enacted by members of the crew. Festival or no, before retiring the missionaries partook of a night-cap of brandy or a tasty sugar confection.

Crossing the Tropic of Cancer was an important event. The superstition that in the tropics worms would grow under the fingernails unless these were coated with wax caused great uneasiness for at least one Jesuit.³⁷ When the crossing was made the command of the ship was assumed by Neptune or by King Tropic in the person of one of the older, more dignified members of the crew. A mock trial was held and everyone was brought to judgment. The monarch had but one verdict—guilty! The guilty one had the choice of being dipped into the ocean at the end of

³⁵ On the June, 1722, voyage one ship carried coops on the top deck in which were three thousand chickens and the same number of pigeons. *Aus: Jesuitica*, 294, Mexico, 15 February, 1723.

³⁶ *Welt-Bott*, 172.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 448.

a rope or of purchasing freedom, a transaction agreeable both to the "court" and to the victim. To insure a prompt and liberal payment, the canny King Tropic usually arranged for the immersion of a scapegoat early in the trial as an object lesson. The Jesuits were represented at the monarch's court by their superiors who purchased the freedom of their entire company with bottles of brandy and casks of wine with which King Tropic and the members of his "court" amused themselves during the days following the trial.³⁸ Besides the plays performed on special occasions and the "sea-baptism" ceremony, there were informal amusements such as dancing, tumbling, and juggling indulged in by the sailors to gain gratuities for themselves.³⁹

Fare and accommodations for the missionaries varied widely, a fact which seems to indicate that a comfortable or an uncomfortable voyage depended as much on chance as on any other factor. Bitter criticisms of conditions on board are noted in some of the Jesuit correspondence, but there is found also abundant praise, especially of material comforts and of the courtesy and consideration manifested them by members of the ships' companies.

It is of no little wonder that such a costly fare can be offered on the open sea. To say nothing now of the service which is of fine silver, there are three dishes for breakfast and five dishes for each midday meal. Each person had his special portion placed before him on a silver plate. For breakfast there is [served] a wing or drumstick of a hen, a piece of mutton of pork, and some confection or preserved fruit; in the afternoon, cabbage, mutton, an *olla* or mixed meat dish, rice, a piece of tart, and finally cheese and olives. On fast-days one has the same number of dishes of smoked or salted fish. And we never suffered a shortage of eggs, wine, and sweet water.⁴⁰

Thus wrote Father Ratkay, a shipmate of the new bishop of the Philippine Islands and for that reason, perhaps, exceptionally well treated.

Father Wagner, in 1735, however, states that there was a shortage of water and food because no one had known for certain that the fleet would sail that year. It had been necessary to ration the water even before they reached the Canary Islands and since they did not have permission to stop at the Canaries,

³⁸ Father Herre, in a letter written in 1722 states that those who passed for the first time in through the Straits of Gibraltar were also forced to indulge in the "sea-baptism" or purchase their freedom. *Ibid.*, 438.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 754.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

replenishment of water and of food, of which there was also a scarcity, was impossible. Wagner says that six or eight people in Germany ate more at an ordinary meal than did the forty-nine members of the mission group, and what they had to eat was bad.⁴¹ There was insufficient water on Father Weiss' vessel in 1744 because the ship's officers had taken aboard a supply before they knew how many passengers would sail.⁴² It was accepted as a usual circumstance that there should be a shortage of water and perhaps of food also toward the end of the voyage.

Quarters varied as did the fare. Sometimes the missionaries could pack their belongings in sea chests which were then carefully stowed in the hold. These chests were provided for them (probably by the Society) and were of uniform size, about two by two by three feet, to allow for easy stowing.⁴³ With the bulk of their goods in the hold the missionaries were less cramped in their cabins. But Father Herre, who made the voyage in 1722, was one of thirteen priests who had to eat, sleep, and pray in a little cabin ten feet long, nine feet wide, and seven feet high, in which in addition to themselves were stowed all their personal belongings.⁴⁴

When the islands were approached, the fleet proceeded carefully, anchoring at night to avoid sailing on a reef, and maintaining a careful watch for pirates. At Puerto Rico, Aguada, or Ocoa the ships remained for a few days provisioning, making repairs, and in general preparing for the final difficult portion of the voyage to Vera Cruz. Passengers were permitted to go ashore and often the Jesuits bivouacked on beds of palm leaves in preference to returning to their stuffy cabins.

The usual route among the islands followed the north shore of Puerto Rico and then proceeded via the Mona Passage between Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo and along the south coast of that island. The Windward Passage between Santo Domingo and Cuba was less frequently sailed, perhaps from fear of pirates who were known to use the Island of Tortuga as a base. Ships rarely chose the Old Bahama Passage along the north coast of Cuba but followed the south coast instead. Frequently the Cayman Islands were sighted, much to the relief of the pilots apparently, since if they were not sighted there was the danger of

⁴¹ *Aus: Jesuitica*, 283.

⁴² *Welt-Bott*, 747.

⁴³ *Och, Nachrichten*.

⁴⁴ *Welt-Bott*, 438.

running upon them accidentally. Father Mancker writes: "For two days we searched for two little islands, the Caymans or Crocodiles which we were in danger of striking at night because they jut out of the water only two fathoms."⁴⁵

The Caymans were famous for a species of very large turtle found there in "uncountable numbers" and described as being the size of a "large round table." These were hunted and the flesh sold as was beef in Europe, "by the pound."⁴⁶ From the Caymans the ships sailed to the Campeche Sound which was celebrated as a paradise for fishermen. Here, according to the sailors, there were "five parts of water and one part of fish." Members of the crew fished with red cloth instead of bait; the fish bit immediately, swallowed the hook, and were pulled in.⁴⁷

After crossing the Campeche Sound all eagerly awaited the first sight of snow-capped Orizaba. Finally the voyagers neared the treacherous port of Vera Cruz. The *capitana* fired two cannons, whereupon the port pilot who was maintained there by the king came to meet the fleet and guided it through the tortuous reef-lined channel to the anchorage before the fortress of San Juan de Ulua. Until three or four anchors were imbedded in the weak bottom and lines fastened to the bastion of the fortress a vessel was in grave danger, for a sudden north wind, a further hazard of the port, might catch the ship directly astern and force it aground. In this manner many who had come the great distance from Europe lost their lives at the goal, while the people of Vera Cruz watched, helpless to send aid in the face of the high waves of their shallow port.

But barring any such unfortunate occurrence the arrival of a fleet was a gala event and the occasion for rejoicing and a religious ceremony. Father Middendorff has left a description of the arrival on Easter Day, 1758, of a fleet of sixteen vessels.⁴⁸ When the *capitana*, royal flag flying, was sighted all the bells of the city were tolled and the people prayed for a happy landing. The ships entered the narrow channel one by one, anchored, and tied up before the fortress, whereupon the *capitana* fired a salute which was answered with shouts of "long live the king" from the fortress. The commander of the fortress, the governor of the city, and the king's lieutenant then rowed to the ships in beau-

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Och, *Nachrichten*.

⁴⁸ Middendorff, *Tagebuch*.

tiful yawls, tendered their congratulations on the happy arrival of the fleet, and received the royal orders and the mail, which was [usually] delivered to them in green tin boxes, locked and sealed.⁴⁹ The following day at nine in the morning a procession carrying white wax tapers left the city for the shore where the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary was delivered from the *capitana* by the captains and persons of rank from the ships in prettily decorated and illuminated jolly-boats.⁵⁰ While the clerics carried the image to the Franciscan church amid jubilant singing and music, bells were rung in all the towers and all the guns of the fleet were discharged. Then during the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus* in the Franciscan church, the image was placed upon the altar while the cannons of San Juan de Ulua boomed. Following this ceremony in the afternoon the captains of the ships and royal officials of the city visited with each other over cooling beverages.⁵¹

The missionaries also were as well taken care of as the rather poor accommodations to be found in Vera Cruz permitted. Their resident brother Jesuits and representatives of the Mexican provincial received them eagerly and conducted them to the Vera Cruz college which was so small that on one occasion, at least, the Vera Cruz Jesuits were obliged to sleep in the church choir until guest rooms for the newcomers could be made ready for them.⁵² The average length of the stay in Vera Cruz was eight days. This was presumably a rest stop in preparation for the difficult journey to Mexico City, but it had some of the aspects of an enforced delay since the mules and horses which were to carry the missionaries inland had to be brought from the interior, as no grass suitable for the animals grew in the immediate vicinity of Vera Cruz.⁵³

The travelers were quite ready to leave Vera Cruz when all preparations for the journey to Mexico City had been made, for added to the discomfort of cramped quarters in the Vera Cruz

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* The sealed boxes were immediately delivered by a detachment of cavalry and officers to the viceroy in Mexico who thereupon granted permission to unload the ships' cargoes. Mules from the interior were brought to Vera Cruz and the goods taken to Jalapa, while a great fair was proclaimed throughout the land.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* This image, called *Maria Mineva* or *Maria die Schifferin* (Mary, Navigatress?) was carried with all the fleets. When the fleet returned to Cádiz the image was safeguarded by the Dominican fathers. The ornaments of the image were said to be of inestimable value.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Welt-Bott*, 743.

⁵³ *Och, Nachrichten*.

college there hovered in that port a conspicuous danger from the dreaded illness, the "black vomit." Thus is yellow fever referred to in most of the letters which ascribe its attacks to the "unhealthy air," to the drinking of wine after eating fruit, or to the partaking of cooling beverages. The city is frequently described as "the grave of Europeans." Father Kanschak sketches a rather dismal picture of Vera Cruz as he saw it in 1731:

I do not know why the Spaniards have called this city *Vera Cruz*, though it bears [the name] with full right, for the uncomfortable situation, the unhealthy air, the always unfriendly sky, stormy wind, sickness, especially the "black vomit" and the "cramps,"⁵⁴ allow little happiness to the inhabitants. Their number is very small and even this small group would move to the interior did not the very flourishing trade and the hope of profits keep them there. For those who do remain the price is often great, costing many an early death. We see many corpses being carried to the grave and we are told that of the strangers—crews of ships and merchants—who come in numbers from Europe on regular business, hardly half get away with their lives to their home country. So dangerous and harmful is the hot air.⁵⁵

The hardihood of the merchants of Vera Cruz had struck an earlier traveler, Father Adam Gilg, who arrived in Vera Cruz on the way to Mexico in 1687. Their persistence in the face of danger moved him to think to himself:

See how these worldlings consider neither danger nor hardships in pursuit of a passable and even meager gain. You should suffer the same for yourself and for the great numbers of heathen in order to earn eternal salvation, for the Faith assures that all which we suffer here is as nothing in view of the future glory which shall be revealed to us.⁵⁶

When finally all their arrangements had been made for quitting Vera Cruz the missionaries mounted horses and set out by the northern or the southern route to Puebla de los Angeles. Horseback riding presented difficulties since most of the missionaries were as unfamiliar with this mode of travel as they had been with sailing on the open sea, but they complain less about this aspect of their journey than they do of the extremes of heat and cold, of the swarms of mosquitos and clouds of dust which plagued them en route. A band of forty missionaries had to split itself into groups of about ten men each and travel sepa-

⁵⁴ Malaria?

⁵⁵ *Weit-Bott*, 743.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

rately because the accommodations along the way were inadequate to care for a larger number. Father Ratkay states simply about the overland ride that they were "as well taken care of as possible." His letter contains mention of two Jesuit farms between Vera Cruz and Puebla on one of which there were eighty thousand pigs, twenty thousand sheep, and many thousand head of cattle, besides other animals and fowl.⁵⁷

As they neared Puebla the missionaries were extended the courtesy which was customary at Puebla and at Mexico City, that of being met by the rector of the college at some distance from the city with coaches which conveyed them directly to the College of El Espíritu Santo, where the priests of that college awaited them at the portals. During the rest stop of two or three days in Puebla they visited the cathedral church and the various Jesuit establishments, of which ultimately there were five. Here in Puebla, as previously in Spain, the missionaries heard accounts of the work of their predecessors in the missionary field, and found themselves inspired with new eagerness for the apostolic work ahead.

Fathers Favier and Wagner tell of their reception at the cathedral by the Bishop of Puebla.⁵⁸ Favier writes: "In Puebla the Most Reverend Bishop received us, especially the Germans, with unusual joy and told us to our comfort of the glorious labors of our predecessors whom he had visited some years before in their missions."⁵⁹ Of this same reception Wagner states: "The Father Procurator led the entire mission to the Holy Bishop. As soon as we reached the palace he came to us as far as the steps, and the next thing was [the question], 'Are you bringing Germans with you and how many are there?' When he saw all of us in a group . . . he began to praise us [saying] how necessary were the Germans for the missions and how virtuous a people . . ."⁶⁰

The bishop named Jesuits whom he had known: Segesser, Stiger, Sedelmayr.⁶¹ "Of Father Glandorff, whose letter he pre-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 28. One of these farms was probably St. Joseph of Ozumba; the other may have been St. Juan de Amulaca. See *ibid.*, 754, extracts from four letters of Father J. Nentwig, 1750-1754.

⁵⁸ The bishop was Don Benito Crespo. See J. T. Medina, *La imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles 1640-1821* (Santiago de Chile, 1908), p. 256, for biographical notice under item 414.

⁵⁹ *Welt-Bott*, 744. Letter of R. P. Joseph Favier to his parents. Dated in Mexico, 23 May, 1736.

⁶⁰ *Aus: Jesuitica*, 283.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

serves as a holy relic, he told us wonderful things which he had learned from sworn witnesses, clergy and laymen: for example, that he and his Indians often crossed dryshod the stream which flows not far from his mission; that the bells in the church steeples ring of themselves at his approach; that locked doors open for his entrance without being touched by hands; that he is transported instantly from one place to another; that he travels long distances to visit the sick, arriving, in many cases, before the return of the mounted messenger who has been sent to summon him—once he even returned to his mission before [the messenger] reached the afflicted one to inform him of the imminent arrival of the priest—all this, though he makes all journeys on foot."⁶²

The remainder of the journey from Puebla to Mexico City is practically unrecorded in the diaries and letters of the missionaries. Three days were spent in traversing the distance and one of the stops made was at the Jesuit establishment of San Borja, about an hour's ride from the city. Father Bonani, in his eagerness to see Mexico City, borrowed a telescope and viewed the city through it from San Borja.⁶³ When at last they reached Mexico City some of the missionaries entered the College of San Pedro y San Pablo to continue their theological studies; others made ready at once for the farther journey into the northern mission areas; still others continued later to the Pacific Ocean port of Acapulco to embark for the Philippine Islands.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

⁶² *Welt-Bott*, 744.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, II, 172.

DOCUMENTS

M. Le Maire on Louisiana

The readers of novels in the eighteenth century were quite delighted on the appearance of the amorous story of *Manon Lescaut*, which thereafter held its place as a world famous book. In its historical aspects the narrative touched the North American Empire of France and characterized or caricatured persons of import in French colonial affairs. The local and historical phase of the novel's appeal did not go unnoticed, but it was not until twenty years ago that a Father Le Maire was identified with the novel's "aumônier dans le nouvel orleans."¹ This identification by an historian was the occasion of a keen discussion of his deductions by a litterateur,² and it aroused some historical interest in the less romantic character of M. Le Maire, whose letter on Louisiana is published in the following pages. Lost under a fictitious name in a novel, Le Maire was in a way of being lost to history, his writings stowed away along with those of other Europeans who came, saw, and described America.

The Directors of the Paris *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères* in 1703 had secured exclusive right to send missionaries to Lower Louisiana, and M. Le Maire was one of the two priests sent.³ From 1706 or 1707,⁴ when he arrived in Louisiana, until his return to France he is often mentioned in official dispatches. He wrote several memoirs describing the colony and commenting on its prospects. The letter published below⁵ is as far as is known

¹ Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans (1717-1722)*, Paris, 1917, 58.

² Cf. André Beaunier, "La véritable Manon Lescaut," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XLVII, 1918, 697 ff., and Paul Hazard, *Etudes critiques sur Manon Lescaut*, Chicago, 1929, 106.

³ Cf. Jean Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763*, Washington, D. C., and New Orleans, 1935, 38 ff.

⁴ In the Archives du Service Hydrographique, Paris (hereafter quoted as ASH), 115xxxii, n. 4; and in the Archives de la Marine (hereafter quoted as AM), B 1, 33:35, the date 1706 is given; M. Le Maire himself in his memoir of 1717, Archives Nationales (AN), Mss. fr., 12105:6, speaks of "les observations que j'ai faites depuis onze ans que je suis dans ce pays." The first entry in the Mobile Cathedral Registers is dated June 19, 1707; the date of his arrival according to Penicaut, Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français . . .*, V, 470, is 1707.

⁵ A short extract is published in Margry, VI, 184-186. The omission of the clause giving the boundary of Louisiana on the East makes the second paragraph of this extract unintelligible.

the first extant.⁶ Others, undoubtedly, were written, for M. Le Maire was not the man to let seven years pass without sending information to France about the new colony. From this letter it appears that he had written in July, 1713, to M. de Valmont, and he had sent information about the boundaries of Louisiana to his uncle in Paris as early as 1711. An extract was made by Guillaume Delisle, the Royal Geographer.⁷ Extracts from this first letter, which is translated below *in extenso*, were made by M. Bobé,⁸ a priest of the Congregation of the Mission (Lazarist) and one of the chaplains of the Palace of Versailles, by Guillaume Delisle,⁹ and by Claude Delisle,¹⁰ each with a different purpose in view. M. Bobé wished M. Le Maire to be appointed official botanist, and consequently, he transcribed, rearranged, and 'edited' the passages in which the missionary spoke of the flora of Louisiana.¹¹ Guillaume Delisle's excerpt includes all geographical details; that made by Claude Delisle, the longest of the three, omitted all that was personal to Le Maire, as well as the comments on Crozat's monopoly and other details. On the other hand, Claude Delisle added comments of his own with regard to the conversion of the Indians.

The second extant memoir in the handwriting of Le Maire is dated March 7, 1717.¹² An extract half the length of the original was copied by Margry and was published by G. Devron in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais*, September and November, 1899. This report accompanied by a map was to be presented to the *Conseil Souverain de Marine*, while an auto-

⁶ A copy is in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Permission for publication was graciously granted by the trustees of this institution. The writer did not see the copy of M. Le Maire's letter of January 15, 1714, listed in Mrs. Surrey's Calendar under that date and which is in the Archives des Colonies (hereafter quoted as AC), C 13C, 2:109. From this entry and from the extract made of this letter by M. Bobé (cf. Waldo G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Washington, D. C., 1932, Vol. I, *Libraries*, 272), now in the Bibliothèque du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, MS 948, photograph in the Library of Congress, it would seem that the copy in Chicago and that in Paris are copies of the same letter.

⁷ ASH, 115x, n. 22 A.

⁸ Bibliothèque du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, MS 948:1-6, 11 pp. M. Bobé was the addressee, from certain sentences of the letter itself, and the introduction to this excerpt, cf. ASH, 115x, n. 22 E.

⁹ ASH, 115x, n. 22 B.

¹⁰ ASH, 115xxxii, n. 4.

¹¹ M. Bobé's extract was very probably addressed to M. Raudot, "who has charge of all the colonies under M. de Pontchartrain," wrote Bobé to Delisle January 8, 1715, in *Historical Magazine*, III, 1859, 231; and cf. [1717], March 8, ASH, 115x, 26 B.

¹² Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter cited as BN), Mss. fr., 12105:1-21.

graph copy was sent to the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères*.¹³ Le Maire's ideas about Louisiana, its boundaries, its products, its population, the commerce of the colony, and M. Crozat's monopoly suffered little change during the three years. One year later, uncertain whether his memoir had effectively reached the Council, he sent another "copy somewhat altered, and lengthened in a few places, which it seemed would be of greater interest to the Court and to scholars."¹⁴ The alterations are slight, consisting mainly in rearrangement of context, including some paragraphs of his letter of 1714, and in developing his ideas about the legendary Sea of the West. His fourth memoir dated Dauphine Island, May 13, 1718, is entitled "Des Moeurs des Sauvages de la Louisiane."¹⁵ It is merely an excerpt of that of 1717, made by Le Maire himself and dealing mainly with the customs of the Indians, although he thought it fitting to cast a few aspersions on the Spaniards and on the Jesuits. The latter's return to Louisiana had aroused his ire.

Besides writing lengthy reports, Le Maire drew maps that entitle him to a prominent place among the early cartographers of Lower Louisiana. It should be stated, however, that all which he personally saw of the colony is restricted to Mobile, Dauphine Island, and Pensacola. He had no wanderlust, and the lure of exploration tempted him little. But he gathered his information from travelers who had roamed the length and breadth of the Mississippi Valley, the Louisiana of his days.

His earliest map¹⁶ is that of 1716, *Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et Pays circonvoisins Dressée sur les lieux pour estre présentée a sa Majesté tres Chretienne, Par F. le Maire Prestre parisien et missionnaire apostolique*.¹⁷ Another map of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, but without title, has the legend *Delineabat F. le Maire P. P. missionar[us] Apostolic[us]. anno 1716*.¹⁸ The map of Guillaume Delisle of 1718 is clearly only a

¹³ Letter of Bobé to Delisle, October 16, 1717, ASH, 115x, n. 26 F.

¹⁴ AC, C 13C, 2:153-164v.

¹⁵ ASH, 67, n. 4.

¹⁶ Other maps had been sent earlier, cf. AC, C 13A, 4:205.

¹⁷ BN, Ge 7883 (a facsimile of this manuscript map is in Henri Gravier, *La colonisation de la Louisiane à l'époque de Law, Octobre 1717—Janvier 1721*, Paris, 1904); the rough draft is in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique, BSH, C 4044. The manuscript maps referred to were seen in the Karpinski Collection, the printed maps in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. On this map, cf. R. Thomassy, *Géologie pratique de la Louisiane*, Nouvelle-Orléans and Paris, 1860, 210. These maps were received by the Navy Council in Paris, as the letter sent M. Le Maire, October 28, 1716, AC, B 38:326, shows.

¹⁸ SHA, 138bis-1-6.

neat copy of these maps in all that pertains to the geography of the Gulf Coast.¹⁹ An engraved and colored map accompanies the memoir of March 17, 1717.²⁰ This is a Nicolas De Fer map. This geographer published in 1715 a map entitled *La Rivière du Mississipi et ses environs*. It would seem that one of these maps was sent to Le Maire to make additions which were embodied in De Fer's map of 1718, entitled *Le Cours du Mississipi ou de St. Louis Fameuse Rivière de l'Amerique Septentrionale aux Environs de laquelle se trouve le Païs appelé Louisiane, dressée sur les Relations et Memoirs du Pere Hennepin et de M^{rs} de la Salle, Tonti, Laontan, Ioutel, des Hayes, Joliet, et le Maire etc.*²¹

If Le Maire was by far the best educated man in the colony, his character does not seem to have been as amiable as his learning was great. He was out of his element with the rough and tough pioneers of Fort Louis, Dauphine Island or Pensacola. A zealous, wealthy, energetic priest, M. Gervaise had persuaded Le Maire to go with him to Louisiana.²² But M. Gervaise's uncle made use of his influence at Court to prevent his nephew from leaving France,²³ and hence M. Le Maire went alone. Bienville, then Commandant in the Colony, took a dislike to the missionary from the very beginning.²⁴ Except for officiating occasionally among the Apalachee, Le Maire remained in the French settlements. He was at Fort Louis—the first Mobile—for a while, and after the flood that forced the founding of Mobile on the site where the city now stands, he became the pastor of the Dauphine

¹⁹ Delisle was grateful for Le Maire's map, ASH, 115x, n. 26 A. At the beginning of July, 1718, the geographer sent to Bobé for criticism the draft of the map he published the following month. Bobé returned suggestions as to how this map could be improved, ASH, 115x, n. 26 M. These suggestions consist in further details taken from Le Maire's memoir in AC, C 13C, 2:154. The remarks made by Bobé were not inserted in Delisle's map published in August, 1718, ASH, 115x, n. 26 N; they probably reached the geographer too late for making further changes, but some of these remarks are found on the *Carte Generale de la Louisiane ou du Miciscipi dressée sur plusieurs mémoires et dessinée par le Sr Vermalle cy-devant cornette de Dragons, 1717*, BSH, C 4044. The date is by another hand. On these various maps, cf. R. N. Hamilton, "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX, 1933-1934, 655.

²⁰ Cf. Leland, 39.

²¹ Cf. De Fer's map of 1701, *Les Costes aux environs de la Rivière de Mississipi* . . . , SHA, C 4040, and the letter of Bobé to Delisle, 1718, January 4, ASH, 115x, n. 26 G.

²² Abbé (later Cardinal) Taschereau. *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois sur les Bords du Mississipi*, 21. A copy of this manuscript history is in the Archives of the Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana, Illinois, and another copy in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

²³ AM, B 2, 183:863.

²⁴ AC, C 13A, 2:110.

Island settlers.²⁵ There he remained until he went to Pensacola in the fall of 1712. He was back in the French settlements in August, 1715, for he signed the baptismal registers of Fort Louis on August 14. His return to the French settlements was very likely caused by the departure in February, 1715,²⁶ of M. Varlet in whose stead Le Maire then became Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec.²⁷

When in 1712, Crozat took charge of the colony, he asked that Jesuit missionaries be sent.²⁸ Two Jesuits arrived in 1716 or 1717. They remained in Mobile because the construction of the forts where they were to serve as chaplains was delayed.²⁹ Owing to the tension existing between the Directors of the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères* in Paris and the Jesuits in France over the Chinese rites controversy, the presence of the newly arrived missionaries was a thorn in the side of M. Le Maire. He wrote a bitter letter to France,³⁰ which confirms the contention that he "could be unjust in his enmities," as had been noted by Hubert, the *ordonnateur*, in a letter to the Council in Paris.³¹

The date of his return to France can only be surmised. He signed the baptismal registers in Mobile for the last time on November 2, 1719, and was in France in 1724.³² From a note on one of his maps,³³ it appears that M. Le Maire was still alive in 1744.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Copy of a letter written from Pensacola, January 15, 1714, by
M. Le Maire, missionary in said country.

Pensacola, January 15, 1714

Sir,

Your letter was forwarded here from Dauphine Island; here, that is, to this fort of Pensacola about which you are asking me for some information. I have been here since September 14,

²⁵ AC, C 13A, 1:37; ASH, 67-2, n. 4.

²⁶ Cf. AC, D 2c, 51:18.

²⁷ AC, C 13C, 2:153; ASH, 67, n. 4.

²⁸ Delanglez, 48.

²⁹ Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, *Amérique*, I, 83v.

³⁰ AN, K 1232, n. 4.

³¹ AC, C 13A, 5:49.

³² Mémoire sur l'établissement de la Mission des Tamarois de 1699 à 1724, 6. Archives du Séminaire (Laval University), Québec.

³³ BSH, C 4044.

1712.¹ I hoped my stay would last less than two months, but I am still here not knowing just when I shall be able to leave. I went through many sufferings, both external and internal. I am the acting pastor here. The charge is vacant owing to the murder of two religious whose death was the deserved punishment of the scandalous life they led.

If you happened to know M. de Valmont, who creates quite a stir in literary circles, and who has been tutor of the children of M. Dangeau, you might request him to show you what I wrote him from this place last July.

I would like to live up to the high opinion people gave you of me, but I fear I may not succeed, as this opinion is that of people who love me. I am the most insignificant laborer in the vineyard of the Lord. I was somewhat successful in Paris, and begot a goodly number of spiritual children to Jesus Christ, formed several of his spouses, etc., but here I find myself out of my native land, the most barren of fathers. If I did not know that God is often as much glorified, although in a different manner, by the barrenness of His ministers, as He is by their fecundity, I would be utterly disconsolate, but I leave this to be the subject of my groaning before the Lord, and I am coming to your questions, after thanking you for the news you were kind enough to give me.

To put some order in all the questions you ask me, I shall divide them into three classes. I shall answer first those questions which concern the venture of M. Crozat; then, those which deal with the nature of this country; and finally, I shall treat of the missions.

M. Crozat has been deceived, and in a way he hasn't.² He has been deceived if he imagined he would harvest before sowing, and if he based his hopes on trade with the Spaniards.³ Such commerce is a chimera, especially since the peace with the English.⁴ It can only be carried on furtively and by means of a shower of gold, which takes away all the profits. But he has not been deceived if he looked upon this country as a land which, with a little care, will produce one hundred for one. M. Crozat

¹ He made at least one visit to Mobile in the interval; he signed the baptismal register there on July 20, 1713.

² In June, 1713, M. Varlet, a missionary of the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, arrived in Louisiana. In his letter to his brother, January 5, 1714, BN, Mss. fr., n. a., 5398:52, he stated that he had not faith at all in the success of the enterprise of Crozat.

³ B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, New York, 1846-1853, part iii, 39. ⁴ The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

should look for returns from the land itself, and not from foreigners. The inhabitants believe, with regard to commerce, that they have several reasons to be dissatisfied;⁵ urged by the English, they threaten to set fire to the warehouse of the Company and to go over to the English,⁶ who come and trade as far as the banks of the Mississippi.⁷ M. Crozat must remedy this situation.

In order that M. Crozat might derive profits he should

1°) send a hundred families of peasants and farmers, partly to the Illinois country, and partly to Natchez. There is no need of building an elaborate fort, nor is there any need of officers or soldiers. All that is necessary is to arm those farmers, to give them powder, lead, provisions, and some merchandise to tide them over until the next harvest, which without fail will be a very abundant one, if they sow not the French, but the New Spain wheat.⁸ This is a sort of reddish wheat; its grain is smaller than that of France, but is just as good and just as palatable. A few cows and a few sheep must be given to each family. To this effect, the ships coming here should be obliged to call at Havana for getting the cattle.⁹ There is no need of stables or provender for either cows or sheep in this country, for hay can be made twice a year, and the sheep can be sheared twice.

2°) In the warehouse of the Company of Dauphine Island, there

⁵ Cf. the memoir of Duclos to Pontchartrain, October 9, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:226, 229-230, 248; this memoir is printed in Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion*, Vol. II, 79 ff.; and Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle-France . . .*, Paris, 1744, II, 416-417.

⁶ Memoir of Duclos, October 9, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:226-227.

⁷ English traders had reached the Mississippi from Carolina and were trading with the Taensa and the Natchez before the end of the seventeenth century, confer: the letter of M. de Montigny to the Bishop of Quebec, dated "de la Louisiane," March 3, 1699, AN, K 1374, n. 82; and the letter of the same missionary to Delisle, May 6, 1699, ASH, 115x, n. 13; the letter of d'Iberville, February 26, 1700, AC, C 13A, 1:306, printed in Margry, IV, 360; an anonymous document dated May 28, 1701 [1700], BN., Mss. fr., 21590.

⁸ Fogs prevented French wheat from reaching maturity, according to Dartaguet, AC, C 13A, 2:804, Tirvas de Gourville, *ibid.*, 738, Charlevoix, II, 415, III, 405, and others; but the first two writers added that wheat would grow well in the Wabash (Ohio) country. Bienville had said the same in 1711, AC, C 13A, 2:581. The attempts at wheat growing by a *donné* of the Jesuits in the Illinois country met with success, cf., Sister Mary Borgias Palm, "The First Illinois Wheat," *Mid-America*, XIII, 1930, 72-73. A few months before Le Maire wrote his letter, on October 26, 1713, Cadillac flatly denied that New Spain wheat had had better success on the Gulf Coast, AC, C 13A, 3:10-11. In March, 1714, excellent flour made of such wheat was brought from the Illinois settlements to Dauphine Island, ASH, 67-2, n. 4.

⁹ Letter of the *ordonnateur* Hubert to the Navy Council in Paris, from Dauphine Island, October 26, 1717, AC, C 13A, 5:53-54.

should always be an abundance of suitable merchandise, which should be sold at a reasonable price.¹⁰ Buffalo and roebuck hides, or other small pelts could be used as money to pay for this merchandise.

3°) The Company could even be paid in wheat, flour and vegetables, which could be sold with a good profit to the French in the Islands [West Indies],¹¹ or even to the Spaniards. Nothing could be easier than to transport this wheat and other merchandise in flat boats, from the Upper Mississippi to its mouth, which come down of themselves, so to speak, without expenses or charges.¹² But it would be necessary, on account of the reefs,¹³ to have a small brigantine in Biloxi which is at the mouth of the Mississippi[?], to transport the wheat to Dauphine Island.

4°) The Company could grow tobacco,¹⁴ which is here the best in America; the profits would be considerable.

5°) The Company could also grow indigo,¹⁵ but to that effect

¹⁰ Prices fixed by the Company were outrageous; Duclos to Pontchartrain, October 9, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:217, 226-227; Deliberations of the Navy Council, AC, C 13A, 4:391-392.

¹¹ The commerce with the French West Indies collapsed about this time, cf. N. M. Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana*, New York, 1916, 369.

¹² "Transportation [of the products from the upper country] will cost little because it is only necessary to descend the Mississippi," Dartaguetto to Pontchartrain, May 12, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2:804.

¹³ The Jesuit Du Ru in his Journal (R. L. Butler's translation, Chicago, 1934, 4,) speaks of the mouth of the Mississippi as being "entirely fenced in with trunks of trees, petrified and as hard as rock." Dartaguetto to Pontchartrain, May 12, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2:806, has: "The landing west of Massacre (Dauphin Island) is dangerous because of Chandeleur Island and the mouth of the Mississippi with its breakwaters far out to sea and a very low land covered with reeds." Cf. "Relation de la Louisiane ou Mississippi, écrite à une Dame, par un officier de marine," in *Relations de la Louisiane et du Fleuve Mississippi*, Amsterdam, 1720, 4.

¹⁴ In 1711, Bienville wrote to Pontchartrain that he had been told that the quality of the tobacco grown in Louisiana, that is, on the Coast, was superior to that of Virginia, AC, C 13A, 2:581; in his first letter to Pontchartrain after his arrival, October 26, 1713, Cadillac said that tobacco grows rather well on the Coast, but that vermin prevents its being kept, and that far from exporting it, the settlers had to buy some from Havana and Santo Domingo, AC, C 13A, 3:11. The anonymous author of the annals published in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VI, 1923, 548, merely states that the tobacco of Louisiana is of an excellent quality, but he does not specify where this tobacco is grown. Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, I, 34, asserts that the tobacco grown in the Natchez region is superior to that of Virginia and of Santo Domingo, and Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, III, 360-361, 384, indicates in what this superiority consisted.

¹⁵ Indigo grows naturally in Lower Louisiana, observed Le Page du Pratz, III, 354, and Tirvas de Gourville, AC, C 13A, 2:738; its quality is as good as that grown in the French West Indies, Le Page du Pratz, III, 384, and Charlevoix, III, 413. "It may possibly produce better than that made in our Islands of Jamaica," says Daniel Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolina, by the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French La Louisiane*, London, 1722, 86.

should furnish the settlers with negroes.¹⁶ It is true that there could only be one cutting of indigo each year,¹⁷ because of the winter, which is rather severe.

6°) A tannery for large hides and a tawing factory for the smaller pelts could be built here; the transport of these would thus be easier, and they would be less subject to vermin.

7°) A hat factory could be built at small cost.¹⁸ The profits would be great, for the hats could be sold to the French in the Islands, and even to the Spaniards.

8°) Throughout Louisiana, there is a great quantity of white and red cedar, oak, pine, and other timberwood for ship building,¹⁹ a profitable trade. The red cedars of this country are not quite as odoriferous as those of Brazil.

9°) There is no lack of places where sawmills could be built, and the boards which are much sought after and very dear in the French Islands, could be shipped there and even to foreigners.²⁰ They could even be shipped to France, where there is a shortage. The same is true of stave-wood, which is brought to France from foreign countries, from Norway, Sweden, Prussia, etc.

10°) The whole commerce of Carolina consists in tar. This can be made here very cheaply, and the profit would be considerable.

11°) Flax and hemp will grow very well in the Upper Mississippi.²¹ They could be sent to France where there is a shortage of both, since they are imported from Russia and from other countries.

12°) The woods of the Lower Mississippi are full of mulberry

¹⁶ The reason for this was because negroes had a special skill in treating the plant, Dumont, I, 44-45; Le Page du Pratz, III, 355 ff., Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 2 vols., Paris, 1768, I, 179.

¹⁷ Whereas there were four cuttings in the Islands, only three were possible in Louisiana, according to Le Page du Pratz, III, 384.

¹⁸ Hatters had been brought from Vera Cruz at the end of the previous year, AC, C 13A, 3:356.

¹⁹ The variety and abundance of timberwood is emphasized by all early writers. Cadillac, however, wrote to Pontchartrain that he doubted whether one hundred main masts for a fifty gun ship could be found in a radius of one hundred leagues. Much difficulty was experienced, he added, in finding on all Dauphine Island, a mizzen mast for the vessel of M. Crozat. AC, C 13A, 3:12.

²⁰ Cf. AC, C 13A, 2:544. There were two saw mills in Louisiana in 1716; for the lumber trade at that time cf. Surrey, 284.

²¹ The Company of the Indies forbade hemp growing, AC, C 13A, 10:194 v.; the directors of this organization intending to monopolize this culture, AC, C 13A, 11:346 v. Hemp growing became allowed only after the retrocession of the colony to the King, Instructions of Louis XV to Bienville, February 2, 1732, AC, B 57:799 v.; Le Page du Pratz, II, 64, and Coxe, 92.

trees.²² A silk factory²³ could be established if silkworms or their eggs were brought here²⁴ at the right time from France or New Spain.

13°) Wax and honey are gathered in great quantity on the Campeche coast, which is not far from Louisiana. Bees brought here will do marvelously well, for the flora of this country is nearly all odoriferous. The commerce of wax would be very profitable to the Company, and the hydromel would be useful to the inhabitants of the colony.

14°) This country has all the marks of a country where grapes will grow, from which very good wine could be made. The banks of all our rivers are lined with trees covered with vines. The stem of some vines is as thick as the thigh. These beautiful vines, with which the trees are laden, form in certain places delicious arbors. Care is all that is necessary for these vines to bear grapes just as good as those of France.²⁵ I remember how, six years ago, I cut a vine stem to get to the grapes out of my reach. The following year, this stem grew vine-shoots bearing grapes just as good as those of France.²⁶ It is especially in the Illinois country, in that of the Choctaw and of the Chickasaw that grapes as thick as those in France abound. The Jesuits in the Illinois country make Mass wine with these grapes.²⁷ I drank good wine made in Mobile of a sort of grape which does not grow in bunches, but one by one in small clusters, like prunes.²⁸ Thus the Company could make a great commerce of wine and brandy. The transport by sea to the French and English Islands, and even to the Spaniards would be very profitable.

²² The mulberry trees of Louisiana had the advantage of immunity from disease, unlike those of France, it was stated, AC, C 13A, 1:403 v., and "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . ." 29. Cadillac found fault with the leaves of the Louisiana mulberry trees, they were too hard, he wrote Crozat, for raising silkworms, AC, C 13A, 3:351 v.

²³ For years silk making was a frequent item in the official correspondence, AC, C 13A, 1:54-55, 2:367 v., 804, 3:36-37, etc., and the promotion of this industry was very much insisted upon by contemporary writers, Le Page du Pratz, III, 349, 367; "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . ." 29; Coxe, 90-91, etc., but nothing ever came of it.

²⁴ According to Dumont, I, 58, an attempt at raising silkworms was made at the concession of Paris du Vernay. An earlier experiment is that of the *ordonnateur* Hubert, AC, C 13A, 1:54. ²⁵ Cf. Coxe, 75.

²⁶ Dumont, I, 17-18, and Le Page du Pratz, II, 17, relate a similar happening.

²⁷ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, LXVI, 228.

²⁸ Dumont evidently described the same fruit when he wrote: "Au lieu de grapes, celle-ci (vine) ne produit que des grains séparés les uns des autres, qui sont gros comme nos plus grosses cerises. . . Chaque grain ne renferme que trois pepins." I, 18.

This article about the Company has, against my will, brought confusion to the division of my letter. But I am glad to find an opportunity to bring together all the means that this Company can utilize to profit from its privileges; and this is apart from the mines, which, after trade with the Spaniards, might well have been the strongest motive that determined its establishment.²⁹ I shall speak about the mines in the next division.

The second point about which I intended to speak is the nature of Louisiana. By nature I mean three things: 1° its area, its boundaries, its ports, climate and temperature; 2° its plants, minerals and animals; 3° its habitants, their customs, their religion.

This threefold matter is too vast for me ever to hope to do justice to it within the limits of a letter. But I can assure you that if I do not treat of all that you would wish me, at least, in what I shall treat, I shall be careful not to offend knowingly against truth, and this is saying not a little, it seems to me, for a person who is writing so far away. Let us begin. The northern boundary of Louisiana is at a place between Lake Erie and Lake Huron called Detroit, which has a government of its own.³⁰

²⁹ Crozat in a memoir dated May 14, 1717, when the financier wanted to waive his costly privilege, made the following statement: "La principale de mes vues estoit la découverte des mines d'or et d'argent . . ." *Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, I, 238 v.

³⁰ A thorough study of the boundaries of French colonial Louisiana is that of the late Marc de Villiers du Terrage, "La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives (1681-1819)," in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* (hereafter quoted as JSAP), XXI, 1929, 1-74. De Villiers commenting on this passage of Le Maire's letter printed in Margry, VI, 184, says: "Louisiana never reached the Great Lakes, but its boundary was soon to be near them," *ibid.*, 46. However, Franquet de Chaville in his "Voyage a la Louisiane en 1720-1724," JSAP, IV, 1902, 139, asserts that Louisiana is bounded by the Lakes of Canada. The map which accompanies the study of de Villiers shows the northern boundary near Chicago. In a previous article, "La Louisiane de Chateaubriand," JSAP, Vol. XVI, 1922, 125, de Villiers had said that the northern limits of Louisiana were never higher than the Illinois country. We do not know what extent Le Maire gave to the 'Government of Detroit.' With regard to the northwestern boundary, de Villiers wrote that it was never known, JSAP, XXI, 1929, 48. [Valette Laudun?] in the *Journal d'un voyage à la Louisiane fait en 1720, Par M . . . , Capitaine de Vaisseau du Roi*, La Haye and Paris, 1768, 221, said that in the North, Louisiana is limited partly by Canada, "the rest has no boundaries." This was probably because the French geographers were told not to put boundaries on their maps, and to erase those which had been traced on their published maps, cf. the letters of Bobé to Delisle, January 8, 1715, in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, 1859, 231, and May 27, 1718, in ASH, 115 x, n. 26 K. Dumont gives the Missouri River as the northern boundary of Louisiana, I, 281. De Villiers continued in JSAP, XXI, 1929, 48: "Father Hennepin and Philip Buache, the latter although a learned geographer, were the only ones to amuse themselves by showing on their maps the northern shores of Louisiana washed

From Detroit to the sea, the distance is about 700 leagues; I mean by water, for by land, as the crow flies, the distance is much less. In the South, Louisiana is bounded by the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, stretching in a general East-West direction for about 200 leagues, from the Perdido River in the East to the Madeleine [Guadalupe] River in the West.³¹ The latter is a small river, called St. Bernard by the Spaniards, and St. Louis by the French. Hence it is neither the Río Pánuco, nor the Río del Norte.

Although more than seven years ago the Court gave order to set up posts with the arms of His Majesty at these two places I have just mentioned, it is very likely that this order had not been concerted with the King of Spain. This is clearly seen from the opposition of the Governor of Pensacola two years ago, when the Sieur de Bienville was making himself ready to go to set up those posts.³² Inland, East or West, no boundaries have yet been set. It is, however, much easier to guess what our boundaries will be in the East, that is, toward Carolina, occupied by the English, than in the West where there are immense but unknown stretches of country.

People have gone up the Missouri for more than 400 leagues³³ without finding one Spanish settlement, and it is only after about 500 leagues travel that one hears about them from the savages

by the waters of the mysterious Arctic Sea, or by the waters of the legendary Sea of the West." The author of the "*Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississippi . . .*," 7, wrote that: "In the north Louisiana has perhaps no other boundary than the Arctic Pole."

³¹ Le Maire asserts that there were two Madeleine Rivers, one farther away from the Mississippi; the one nearer is the *Maligne* spoken of by La Salle, the Spanish geographers read *Maligna* and the copyists *Magdalena*, cf. Le Maire's memoirs, BN, Mss. fr., 12105:2, AC, C 13C, 2:153 v., and ASH, 115 x, n. 22 E.

³² The Governor of Pensacola had asserted that the east bank of the Mobile River belonged to his master, the King of Spain. The instructions of Louis XIV to Demuy were that he must not yield on this point, both banks belonging to the French, AC, B 29:248 v.-249. Three years later, in 1710, Pontchartrain wrote to Bienville to set up posts with the King's arms on the Perdido River, AC, B 32:40-40 v., the same thing was repeated in the King's instructions to Cadillac, *ibid.*, 59 v. In October, 1711, Bienville answered Pontchartrain that he would send men to set up those posts, and should the Governor of Pensacola object, he would tell him that it was to replace those which were there previously and which had been washed away by the flood. Le Maire wrote to his uncle, October 11, 1711: "The boundaries of this country have just been marked," ASH, 115 x, n. 22 A. It is probably on this occasion that the difficulties spoken of in the text arose.

³³ For the history of the exploration of the Missouri, cf. Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort d'Orléans, 1673-1728*, Paris, 1925, 35-40.

at war with the Spaniards. What one reads in La Hontan about the Western part of Louisiana is looked upon here as so many fairy tales.³⁴ We must wait until there are more Frenchmen in this part of Louisiana before we can explore what is still unknown in that part.

I am coming back to the Sea. Pensacola is on the coast, four leagues to the East of the Perdido River. It is a great stockade which the Spaniards thought fit to build at the time of the first voyages of M. d'Iberville. The garrison is 250 strong, all very bad soldiers,³⁵ who are in such ill-repute for courage among the savages that these sometimes come and dance within cannon or gun shot and carry away those who are unfortunate enough to be outside the fort. This fort is, so to speak, the 'land galleys' of New Spain.³⁶ Every ship from Mexico brings here those to whom the tribunals of New Spain have given a reprieve from the stake, the wheel, or the rope. This scum together with the garrison and the sad remnants of the Apalachee, decimated seven years ago by the Alibamons, make about 500 persons including the officers and the women. What you know under the name of Pensacola

³⁴ Le Maire is referring here to the supposed exploration by La Hontan of the Long River, *Voyages du Baron de la Hontan dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* . . . , Amsterdam, 1705, I, XVIIe Lettre, 174 ff. M. Bobé, Le Maire's friend in Versailles, did not believe the Baron's voyage to be genuine, there were too many people in Canada who had never heard of that Long River, *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, 1859, 231-232. Coxe, 63, still accepted the story. Charlevoix dealt with the veracity of La Hontan, I, *Liste des Auteurs*, lv. Among modern authors, Parkman in *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1887, 458, rejects this account of the 'exploration' of the Long River as fanciful from beginning to end, cf. also Parkman's *Frontenac*, 105. But as La Hontan was not a friend of the Jesuits, he naturally becomes "un auteur . . . de bonne foi et de jugement sain" for Gravier, *Découvertes et Etablissements de Cavalier de la Salle* . . . , Rouen, 1870, 67. The best study in print on La Hontan is that of J.-Edmond Roy, "Le Baron de la Hontan," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the Year 1894*, Ottawa, 1895, Vol. XII, 63-193. The voyage up the Long River is discussed at length, 129, the writer pointing out, 143, how La Hontan's conduct parallels that of another explorer, Hennepin, adds "nous sommes tentés de croire que les deux font la paire."

³⁵ The French at this period generally delighted in questioning the courage of the Spaniards; on the valor of the French soldiers at this time, cf. [Valette Laudun?], 259; and later, AC, C 13A, 5:276; 18:12; 21:52; Charles E. Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1846-1847, I, 368, II, 62; Pierre Henrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731*, Paris, n. d., 87, 239, 281.

³⁶ "A poor Town containing about 40 Palmetto Houses, with a small stockadoed Fort of 12 or 14 guns, but of little moment; because all their soldiers, and the Majority of the Inhabitants, are *Forc'adoes* or forc'd People, having been malefactors in some Parts of Mexico, therefore are confin'd in that Place for a number of years, according to the Nature of their Crimes. In short they are not unlike our Felons, which are transported from the Jails in England to the Plantations," Coxe, 28.

is what the Spaniards call the Presidio de Santa María de Gálvez, or de Santo Carolo de Austria. As you see, I have fine parishioners. God, Who wanted me to work for their salvation, gave me the grace to understand Spanish in less than two months, and to be able to speak it in less than six in such a manner as to be able to perform all the functions of my ministry.

There is no lack of work, and I don't know how I have been able to carry on with health as poor as mine is and with food as bad as the usual fare here is; for, although I am eating²⁷ with the quartermaster and with the Governor, whose pay, leaving out the profit derived from his commerce, is double of that of our most important Province Governors in France. Nevertheless, I sometimes long for the share of the last brother of St. Lazare.

Since I am in this fort I have made a huge sundial to regulate the military drills. I have drawn a plan of the coast and of the fort, which have been sent to the King of Spain.²⁸ In between, during my leisure moments, as I had not my books here, I amused myself composing Latin hymns for all the Mysteries [of the life] of Our Lord, and for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin. The form I followed is that of certain odes of Horace that have not yet been used and to which I have adapted a melody that sounds harmonious enough. I was lucky to remember the rhythm of an Horatian archilochian well fit for the common melodies of the *Pange Lingua*, and the proses *Lauda Sion, O Filii, Veni Sancte Spiritus, Stabat Mater*. If I do not have them printed in Mexico, I shall send them to Paris, but they will be published anonymously. If I have time, I might send you a few extracts of this work. Excuse my digression. Mustn't everything be forgiven a poet?

About eight leagues west of the Perdido River is Mobile Bay; then comes Massacre or Dauphine Island. What I would have to say of this part of the country is so difficult to express clearly in writing that I have preferred to scribble a small plan which you will find enclosed.²⁹ I would have done the same for the rest of the country, but I have not my notes with me here. The port of Massacre, or Port Dauphin, is small, but good and safe, for it is protected from the sea winds by the Island Espagnolette, and from land winds by the great woods of Dauphine

²⁷ Cf. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 130.

²⁸ This map is in the Archivo General de Indias, 61-3-12, *Carta de la Costa de Pensacola desde Santa Rosa hasta Massacra, M. DCCXIII*.

²⁹ The copyist of this letter also traced the plan Le Maire refers to in the text.

Island. This harbor, small as it is, can shelter from 20 to 30 large vessels, and moreover, the outer roadstead is not bad. The port is the easiest thing in the world to fortify, for the ships must graze both islands, as it were, in order to enter it. We have no other ports properly so called along our Coast; perhaps some could be found if we looked for them.⁴⁰

Nearer to the Mississippi, Ship Island has a good enough anchorage, but it is only a roadstead. The port of Pensacola can pass muster as the most beautiful after that of Havana, the greatest and the best of America,⁴¹ so much so that the Spaniards who knew of this did not delay in occupying it when they saw the French come to settle this coast.

The climate of this country is the most temperate in the world, that is, at some distance from the sea, for since the coast is very low, there is no end of marshes whose stagnant waters exhale vapors harmful to health. Along the coast, near the sea, the air is very pure; away from the coast the country is low and full of marshes, the air unhealthy⁴² and this to a distance approximately 100 leagues inland; there, a country with a pleasing temperature and charming healthfulness is found. It is from the Huma on that good lands and endless plains begin; there, one has only to plough and sow. The instability of the weather is most extraordinary here, for in the middle of winter as soon as the South wind blows one must put on summer clothes, and sometimes on the same day if the wind turns to the North, Northeast or Northwest, change to winter clothes.⁴³ One thing surprised me and will also surprise you: the freezing spells here sometimes look like a brother of the freezing spells of France. This explains why orange-trees do not grow here⁴⁴ although they grow in Spain, in Portugal and even in our own Provence. I have at times pondered over this, and I think the reason is that the Sea is North of that part of Europe where orange-trees grow well, while the land is South, whereas here it is just the opposite.

⁴⁰ The need of other ports and the necessity of searching for them is also mentioned by Duclos, AC, C 13A, 3:281.

⁴¹ "The Chief and indeed the Best [harbor] upon all the Coast of the Gulf of Mexico, is Pensicola . . .," Coxe, 28; [Valette Laudun?], 255, says it is the only port for men-of-war on the Gulf; cf. Franquet de Chaville, JSAP, IV, 1902, 123-124. The size and safety of the harbor is emphasized in the descriptive notes on maps made by the French after they took Pensacola in 1719, cf. SHA, 138-9-7; BN, Estampes Vd 19; especially that accompanying the *Plan de la Rade de Pensacole levé par Monsieur de Vienne*, BN, Estampes Vd ss.

⁴² Cf. Dumont's explanation, I, 8, and that in JSAP, IV, 1902, 141.

⁴³ Charlevoix, III, 453; Dumont, I, 9; Le Page du Pratz, I, 140.

⁴⁴ Dumont, I, 57; Le Page du Pratz, II, 22.

North winds come to us in full force; they would be milder if they blew over the water, where they would be tempered by other winds and by the movements of the sea. There is good ground to believe that this country was under the sea at one time as far as 150 leagues inland, because in the Arkansas country heaps of oyster shells have been found, and it is unlikely that men carried them there from the sea.

I am coming to the vegetable kingdom of this country: trees, shrubs, herbs, fruits, flowers, etc. All timberwood found in Europe is also found here, and we have a kind of oak not found in France. Inland, there are oaks with acorns as big as an egg. The Governor of Pensacola assured me that during a journey he made some 25 years ago from Mexico to St. Bernard Baye, he found acorns so big that their cups, after adding a stem, could be used as chocolate cups; and such was the use which the Count of Galvez, Viceroy of Mexico, to whom they were presented, made of them, and he sent half a dozen such cups to the late King of Spain.

We have laurels bearing great white flowers, somewhat like our lilies, of a very sweet fragrance;⁴⁵ their trunk is sometimes so strong that single piece top-gallant for ships of a tonnage of four or five tons can be made of them. The same is true of another tree called sassafras concerning which I shall have more to say later on. There is no lack of cherry trees, but they do not bear fruits on the coast; I do not know the reason for this since those in the Chickasaw country bear cherries. About one hundred leagues inland, the woods are full of strawberries. Apple and pear trees grow owing to the heat of this climate.⁴⁶ Mulberry trees are found everywhere in abundance; there are palm trees around Pensacola which bear what is called in the Islands copalm.⁴⁷ Medlar trees grow everywhere, their fruits are larger and better than those of France. The savages make rolls with the pulp, which stops the most hopeless cases of dysentery.⁴⁸ There are fruits here which are unknown in Europe, but these are few and rather insipid to the taste.

The sassafras mentioned above oozes a gum just as good as

⁴⁵ This is the *Laurier à Tulippes* of Le Page du Pratz, II, 34-36; Charlevoix, III, 409.

⁴⁶ Dumont, I, 57; Le Page du Pratz, II, 22.

⁴⁷ The yellowish, fragrant balsam yielded by the sweet gum tree. This balsam is supposed to cure dropsy, says Charlevoix, III, 435, it is little short of the panacea according to Le Page du Pratz, II, 28-29.

⁴⁸ Dumont, II, 5; such curative virtue is attributed by Charlevoix, III, 395-396, to the *Piakimine* (persimmon?).

the balm of Perú, and having all the same properties. Its root has a marvelous odor, and its decoction is a strong sudorific. The savages have no other remedy for syphilis, and they use it rather successfully against this disease.⁴⁹ New Spain lacks sassafras, and it is so much sought after that they would willingly pay an escalin for a pound of the wood or of the root of this tree to those who would load the ship which comes here from time to time from Vera Cruz.

There are wild prunes which are passable. I shall not repeat what I have already said about the vine, grapes, and wine when I spoke of the commerce which M. Crozat and his Company could do in Louisiana. The savages perform every day marvelous cures with the herbs that grow in this country.⁵⁰ They are of so many varieties and their properties are so diversified that one could write a book thicker than that of Dioscorides about them. It is a pity that a few botanists have not come here to search for these herbs. But for my other occupations, I would have made a study of them, and with the little of Natural History I know, I would not have wasted my time. I am sorry I have not the little book on the knowledge of plants by M. de Tournefort.⁵¹ By the last ship I wrote to M. Isnard, successor of M. de Tournefort in the chair of Botany of the Royal Garden, telling him that I intended to send him a few plants to repair the damage done by the great winter of 1709, and I shall try to keep my word. But this is impossible in Pensacola, where to botanize is a question of life and death. Nobody dares to leave the fort, because of the risk of being caught by the savages at war with the Spaniards as I have already said when I spoke of Pensacola.⁵² Finally, every kind of vegetable would grow here if we had good gardeners. Let us pass to the minerals.

There is no doubt that there are in the up country, especially toward the West, very rich gold, silver, and copper mines.⁵³ Very

⁴⁹ Cf. Charlevoix, III, 317, 365.

⁵⁰ One such cure is narrated by Le Page du Pratz, I, 209 ff.

⁵¹ Le Maire probably refers to the *Elements de botanique, ou methode pour connaitre les plantes*, 3 vols., Paris, 1694, by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort.

⁵² The author of the "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . ." 19, states that nobody dares to go out of the fort for months at a time; cf. also Cadillac to Pontchartrain, AC, C 13A, 3:27.

⁵³ Search for mines was uppermost in the mind of the officials in France and in the mind of the colonists, cf. Jean Delanglez, 69, note 22. Occasionally writers put forward a mild plea that it might perhaps be better if the colonists bent their energies to the tilling of the soil, but they were crying in the desert, JSAP, IV, 1922, 142; Charlevoix, II, 447; Coxe, 95.

abundant copper mines⁵⁴ are already known. They will be a source of immense profit, since there is no copper in France except that which is brought from Sweden and other foreign countries.

In Louisiana there are lead mines⁵⁵ which will also be very profitable, because the lead can be sold to the savages of America and even to the French and to the Spaniards. All the lead in France comes from England, and it is brought from France to America. Our Louisiana mines would spare us this trouble and this expense, and if these mines are abundant, they will enable us to load our ships returning to France with lead. The lead brought here from the Illinois country is more than one third silver, as people who worked in the Mexican mines have attested to us, and under this lead, pure silver⁵⁶ will undoubtedly be found by digging deeper. There is also gold in Louisiana. We heard from savages of the Upper Missouri that there is in that section an Indian tribe where every year white men who come to trade load their horses with 'yellow iron,' as these savages say.⁵⁷ Now

⁵⁴ Dartaguet in his memoir to Pontchartrain, May 12, 1712, speaks of a copper mine found by Sieur de Mainville on the Ohio, AC, C 13A, 2:804; cf. the letter of Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 27, 1711, *ibid.*, 600. Cadillac disillusioned the minister the following year, such a mine was non-existent, but a Canadian who had been in New Spain had found another one on the River of the Peorias, AC, C 13A, 3:30-31. Copper is in abundance, says Coxe, 98, and "so fine that it is found in Plates, Bitts and Pieces very pure without Melting, of which considerable Quantities have been gathered on the surface of the Earth." Le Page du Pratz tells us that shortly after his arrival, near Biloxi, he just looked around and found two copper mines, I, 173. We are told that the second was one league and a half from the first, but we are not told where the first was.

⁵⁵ Coxe, 99, says lead is found in great quantity, and "the Oar affords sixty per cent." Le Page du Pratz discovered a lead mine, *Voyage dans les terres*, I, 256 ff.

⁵⁶ On this silver mine, cf. Charlevoix, III, 393; Le Page du Pratz, I, 331, [Valette Laudun?], 257, etc. This mine was known for a time as "la mine de la Mothe." It was to test this mine that Cadillac left in February, 1715, "without telling me where he was going," wrote Bienville to the Minister, AC, C 13A, 3:827. Le Maire did not think much of the prospecting trip of Cadillac, just a measly silver mine or two, when there are mines of pure gold lying around, BN, Mss. fr., 12105:4. To discover the mines of Louisiana is the *leit-motiv* of Cadillac's first letter to Pontchartrain after his arrival in Louisiana, October 26, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:1-93, this quest became an obsession with the governor, cf. G. Gravier's Introduction to the *Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle-Orléans*, Paris, 1872, xxviii.

⁵⁷ These words of Le Maire are found in the upper left-hand corner of Delisle's map of 1718, and Vermalle's map of 1717, SHB, C 4044. De Villiers in *La Découverte du Missouri* . . . , 37, traced the origin and development of this "yellow iron" fiction. R. H. Hamilton, in "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX, 658, says that "it was the Platte that the Spaniards crossed in their search for gold and not the Missouri."

these white men are undoubtedly Spaniards, and this yellow iron can only be gold, since it is the only metal which has naturally such a color. Copper is red when extracted from the mine, and the yellow color of certain kinds of copper, as everybody knows, is artificially obtained by mixing some foreign matter. We have then gold mines. I'll say more. The same chain of mountains where gold and silver are found in Mexico passes through Upper Louisiana, and I have no difficulty in believing that the veins of these mines of New Spain extend over here,⁵⁸ and if we look for them we shall find them. Moreover, in the upper reaches of the Mississippi, there are certain strips of earth, blackish, burned, almost without grass, or with thin and yellowish grass.⁵⁹ Here and there marcasites are found in the fields as well as sulphurous and hot springs. What are all these except so many indications, so many mouths telling us of the existence of mines around these places? All there is to be done now is to take the proper means to exploit them.

1°) I contend that work on these mines can never be begun until a good number of people from France are sent to these quarters in order to take possession of the country where those mines are, and to defend themselves against the undertakings of those who would wish to dispossess us of them. That is what should be done.

2°) We must have three or four master miners who have worked in the mines of Mexico.

3°) We must have all that is necessary to open those mines, such as spades, pick-axes, and other implements.

4°) If the mine should be opened and flooded, we should have an engineer who would know how to drain it by means of good pumps or by some application of the science of hydrostatics.

We must not lack the workmen necessary to purify the metal, and we must have at hand the ingredients and drugs absolutely necessary to separate the metal from the ore, such as quicksilver and aqua-fortis. The latter can be made on the spot, for I have heard it said that saltpeter is found here.⁶⁰ With regard to

⁵⁸ The same statement is found in *Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, I, 238 v., Margry, IV, 351, Dumont, I, 72, "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . .," 30.

⁵⁹ Cf. De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* . . ., 38.

⁶⁰ Franquet de Chaville, JSAP, IV, 1922, 141, Coxe, 96, Le Page du Pratz, I, 293, and III, 381-382, had each a different reason to believe that there was saltpeter in Louisiana. A report was sent to France in 1714 that two abundant mines of saltpeter had been discovered, with which very good powder could be made. Powder making was forbidden by the Navy Council, the delinquents were to be sent to the galleys, AC, C 13A, 3:665.

quick-silver, it will have to be imported from France until some is discovered.⁶¹ We must not forget that mines require constant and persevering work; for often, when we think less of it, we are rewarded for all our pains. Suffice it then for this item. Let us speak now about the animal kingdom, and first of all of the noblest animal, of man.

All of the Indians of Louisiana are well built; they are reddish rather than olivaster; all have black hair and eyes; it is rare to see men with beards.⁶² All the savages of these parts are light-headed, fickle, liars, thieves, traitors, and unfaithful to their word. They are great talkers, and great teasers, and so revengeful that they remember to the third and fourth generation injuries done to their great grandfathers.⁶³ They have not yet forgiven the Spaniards for what they heard Ferdinand de Soto did to their ancestors. Speaking in general, they do not lack wit, are clever, and they reason well enough.

The children are suckled until they are four or five years old.⁶⁴ Most mothers tie a small board on the head of their newly-born babies to flatten it;⁶⁵ this practice, however, is common only among the tribes near the sea.⁶⁶ More nations are polygamous than monogamous. Marriage among them does not deserve the name, so easily do they violate it. The men are very lewd, women ordinarily less so. I say ordinarily, because there are villages in which the women are very incontinent, but I have noticed that this only takes place among those tribes where the men are so unrestrained as to indulge in unnatural vices. Each village, lest the young people should go to the other nations, has a hut where women selected by the village chief are always at their dis-

⁶¹ There was quicksilver in Louisiana says Coxe, 99: "This Country affords another profitable Commodity or Mineral, which is Quick-silver. We have knowledge of two Mines, one on the West, the other on the East of the Great River; and doubtless many more might be found if enquir'd after."

⁶² Similar statements are found in "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . .," 14, and Dumont, I, 136.

⁶³ "Liars, greedy, lazy, unreliable, fickle," JSAP, IV, 1902, 130; "Perfidious and unreliable," Dumont, I, 135, 182. The Louisiana Indians had made a different impression on earlier travellers, cf. letter of M. de Montigny to Delisle, May 6, 1699, ASH, 115 x, n. 13, and that of Tonty to his brother, March 4, 1700, ASH, 115 x, n. 14.

⁶⁴ Dumont, II, 270, has "until 6 or 7 years."

⁶⁵ "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . .," 14, and Charlevoix, III, 323.

⁶⁶ The Choctaw were known as Flat-heads. Le Page du Pratz confesses he does not know the reason, III, 216, for the head of all the Indians of Louisiana is just as flat or nearly as flat as that of the Choctaw.

posal.⁶⁷ The women are not ugly,⁶⁸ and they are not such scolds as those of Europe. They never eat with their husbands from the moment they are pregnant until they stop suckling their children, which means a period of three or four years. During this time they have no intercourse with their husband, nor do they live with them during their menstruations. In the latter case, they do not even enter their husband's huts, for fear to pollute it.⁶⁹ This custom and several others, such as refraining from eating pork and other meats considered unclean in the Book of Leviticus, have always made me believe that these nations come from the East and perhaps descend from the Jews.⁷⁰ Some of their traditions have confirmed me in this belief, such as the respect nearly all have for snakes, the perpetual fire kept up by certain tribes, and the great number of children they sacrifice when this fire dies out. This might have had its origin in those cruel sacrifices to Moloch so much inveighed against by all the prophets. I have no doubt that one who knew Hebrew would find many analogous terms in the languages of this country.⁷¹ But this I mention only in passing and with hesitation.

The pelts of animals supply the savages of Louisiana with clothes, and the flesh with food. Outside the hunting season, they eat corn or Turkey wheat, with which they make the sagamité or mush, a healthy and nourishing food but not very tasty. The women are only covered from the waist down to the knees with little skirt made of the inside membrane of certain barks.

I am so afraid to tell you what you already know that I omit many things which crowd the tip of my pen. I shall hazard saying a few more.

All their names have a meaning attached to them, and there are some names reserved to the chiefs. There are two kinds of chiefs, or two kinds of kinglets among our savages. Some are war chiefs; their courage plus the election by the tribe gives them this rank; the others are village chiefs; these only busy themselves with the internal government, but they can, neverthe-

⁶⁷ Charlevoix, III, 423.

⁶⁸ The Indian women, says the author of the "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississippi . . .," 15, are "généralement laides."

⁶⁹ MS Relation de la Louisiane, 131, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁷⁰ Charlevoix, III, 349, protested against those who saw similarity between all the customs of the Indians and those of the Jews; there are a few, he says, and that here mentioned by Le Maire is one of them.

⁷¹ Le Maire would have been delighted with John Adair's *History of the American Indians*, London, 1775.

less, be looked upon as real chiefs. Their power is more stable than that of the other chiefs which only holds good in time of war. The respect which certain nations show their village chiefs reaches adoration.⁷² Power is handed down from father to son. There are tribes, like that of the Choctaw, among whom the power, for lack of male children, is transmitted to the girls. With regard to this succession among the Natchez, it is the mother and not the father who is taken into consideration,⁷³ in order to keep more surely the government in the family of the first of their chiefs who, they say, was begotten of the Sun. I do not see that they are wrong in this.

The principal nations around us are located either on the Mobile River, or on the Mississippi, or between these two rivers. On the banks of the Mobile River, are the Apalachee, twenty families; the Chattas or Chateaux [Chatot],⁷⁴ ten families; the Tauchas [Tawasa], eight or nine families; the Mobilians, thirty families; the Thomes [Tohome], joined with a few Chattas, forty families.⁷⁵ Between the Mobile River and the Mississippi about one hundred leagues from Fort Louis toward the Northeast, are the Choctaw, divided into several villages. This nation numbers more than six thousand men.⁷⁶ Fifty leagues farther in the same direction are the two villages of the Chickasaw, who may number from six to seven hundred men.

To the east of the Mobile River at some seventy leagues from the old Fort Louis are the Alibamons, a tribe reduced almost to nothing. They are usually blamed for all the war expeditions made against Pensacola or against our allies; they are rather the instigators than the agents. They always act as guides for the Abihka and Conshac forces, their neighbors, against the Mobilians and the Thomes. The Abihka and Conshac are two powerful tribes who together may number about eight thousand men. They would be friendly with us but for the English among

⁷² Dumont, I, 176; "Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi . . .," 21.

⁷³ Dumont, I, 179, and Le Page du Pratz, II, 295, explain the reason for this maternal succession.

⁷⁴ Le Page du Pratz, II, 212, gives forty huts for the *Chatôts*.

⁷⁵ They are not more numerous than the *Chatôts*, Le Page du Pratz, II, 213.

⁷⁶ Claude Delisle's copy has 600. Le Page du Pratz, II, 216, speaks of 25,000 Choctaw warriors. The census given by contemporary writers of this and of other tribes is so bewilderingly different, that one is at a loss to know whose figures to accept. Cf. John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 43, Washington, D. C., 1911, and *id.*, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73, Washington, D. C., 1922.

them who have alienated those Indians from us. There is between the Choctaw and the Chickasaw a small remnant of the Sachoumas [Chakchiuma], of whom we make a shrewd use in order to know the plots concocted by the English among their allies against ours.

The first tribe met with at the mouth of the Mississippi is that of the Biloxi, who number no more than five or six families. Some sixty leagues farther up are the Huma, who had formerly a Jesuit as their missionary;⁷⁷ they are at least one hundred families. Forty leagues above the Huma are the Tunica, of whom a good number are Christians.⁷⁸ Between the Tunica and the Huma on both sides of the Mississippi are the Chitimacha, who formerly were found all along the River down to the sea, but who, since the cruel war waged against them by our allies to avenge the death of one of our missionaries, have no fixed settlements and roam about, now on the banks of the Mississippi, now on the coast.⁷⁹ There was another nation, formerly allied to the Chitimacha; lest it be involved in the war waged against these, that tribe has separated itself from them to 'village with' the Huma, as they express themselves in this country.

About two hundred leagues from the mouth of the Mississippi are the Natchez, numbering about six or seven hundred families and now ruled by a woman who, her subjects pretend, is a direct descendant of the Sun. It is the most civilized tribe of the whole Mississippi, and the only one where some trace of a religion can be found, for when the Huma and the Tunica moved their villages, they did not bother to re-erect the temples they had in their former villages. The Natchez have had their temple from time immemorial. It is a large hut or dome in the midst of which there is an altar on which burns perennial fire. There is a kind of sacristan, paid by the public, who keeps this fire burning; when it goes out, besides punishment for the negligent keeper,⁸⁰ there is mourning for the whole tribe. A deputation of the most important men goes to fetch some fire from the

⁷⁷ Father Paul Du Ru, and later, Father Joseph de Limoges.

⁷⁸ Charlevoix passed through the Tunica Village in 1721, he asserts that there was not one Indian of this tribe who was Christian, III, 431.

⁷⁹ This missionary was Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, Delanglez, 63, note 88. According to Le Page du Pratz, I, 106, and II, 230-231, the Chitimacha Indians made peace with the French in 1719, when they handed over the man who had killed the missionary; Bienville, however, wrote in 1708, that a detachment of soldiers commanded by St. Denys had caught the murderer who was executed in Mobile, AC, C 13A, 2:100.

⁸⁰ Dumont, I, 158.

nearest tribe keeping a sacred flame. Formerly they went to get it from the Huma, but these have given up the practice, as I said before, and I do not know what the Natchez will do now if their sacred fire dies out.

About five years ago their queen died. They put to death a great number of men, women and children to attend her in the next world. Some Frenchmen, who happened to be there were not able to restrain their superstitious fury; all they could do was to baptize a few little children. I say a few, for seeing that under the pretext that the baptized ones went to another world than the one where the dead queen had gone, the parents kept on killing more and more little children. The French were forced to stop their pious duty in order to put an end to the massacre of these Innocents.

There are in this village men whose profession is prostitution. They are dressed as women and are excluded from all work commonly performed by men, and do all the work women do.⁸¹ It is said that the women of this village, to avenge this insult and this outrage to nature, profess to be unfaithful to their husbands.

Lest you be surprised at the order in which I have enumerated the tribes, note that I have located these tribes differently from their location on the map of M. Delisle. You must know that these changes and migrations have taken place within the last four or five years.⁸²

About one hundred leagues north of the Natchez, up the Mississippi, are found the Arkansas. This tribe was formerly powerful whereas now they are hardly more than three to four hundred men. One of our missionaries⁸³ was killed in this village by men of another tribe who had come to dwell near it.⁸⁴ Two hundred leagues from the Arkansas, or thereabouts, are the Illinois. The Missouri flows into the Mississippi near their village, but in such a manner that one can hardly say whether it is the Missouri that flows into the Mississippi, or the Mississippi into the Missouri, for the volume of their streams is about equal. I must warn you that the distances from here to all those tribes about

⁸¹ [Valette Laudun?], 263, Bossu, II, 100, Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, New York, 1775, 82-83.

⁸² On the difficulties arising from these migrations, cf. Le Page du Pratz, II, 207.

⁸³ This missionary was M. Foucault, Delanglez, 33-34.

⁸⁴ Koroa Indians, letter of M. Davion to the Bishop of Quebec, Archives du Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, Paris, 344:68, a copy of this letter is in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

which I spoke is twice or even three times shorter by land, as the crow flies, than by way of the Mississippi. Its windings lengthen the way incredibly. We know, for instance, that when the Illinois come by land from their country in war expedition against the Chickasaw, they are not more than ten or twelve days on the way. The Illinois, also called the *Cats*, are divided into two great villages. The Jesuits have charge of one, and our Seminary has charge of the other. The latter has been without a missionary since the death of the one who was there, and we have not yet been able to replace him because of the wars. Do not ask me for more details about this, for I am too much pressed for time.

I must now speak of the irrational animals of this country. You are aware from the relations you have read what buffaloes, deers, bears, and bustards are, but it is well to undeceive you. Some do not pity us because they imagine that the hunting season lasts the whole year. This is not true, but rather, only a part of the year. From April until the end of September, one finds only here and there a few deer, so skinny that people do not even deign to kill them. The good season for hunting is the winter.⁸⁵ Then one is sometimes lucky enough to see those who were sent hunting come back laden with ducks, bustards, and teals, before the water put in the kettle on leaving begins to boil. At all other times, we must rely on the poultry house, or be satisfied with salted or smoked meat. Let us come back to our animals.

One does not hear the woods in these parts resound with the warbling of little birds as in France.⁸⁶ We see hardly any here. On the other hand we see what is not seen in France, that is, flights of the most beautiful parrots in the world. They are smaller than those of Perú, but they are more beautiful with red feathers in their tails and around their necks, a most pleasing sight.⁸⁷ When the winter has been more severe than usual, swans come down from the upper reaches of our rivers. Our streams are full of fish, but because the rivers are too deep we can hardly enjoy them, except in the country near the Mississippi that has many lakes where fish of all sorts are found in abundance. All along the coast fishing is plentiful; soles two feet long, one foot and a half broad, four to five inches thick, are caught.

⁸⁵ Letter of M. Varlet to his brother, January 5, 1714, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 5398:51 v.; Dumont, I, 10.

⁸⁶ Le Page du Pratz, I, 240, speaks differently.

⁸⁷ Dumont, I, 87, and Charlevoix, III, 384.

I have seen one hauling of the drag-net fill a barrel of sardines; and I have seen here in Pensacola everybody dine on a single fish called 'devil' by the Spaniards. The banks of our rivers are strewn in summer with crocodiles or cayman that sometimes bite off the leg or the arm of swimmers.

Our woods are full of snakes, but only two kinds are to be feared, the black ones and the rattle-snakes. The film between the bark and the wood of certain black oaks, ground and applied on the wound, and drinking the juice of the film is an infallible remedy against the bite of either of these snakes.⁸⁸ I am not describing beavers, otters, wild cats. You know what all these are from the relations you have read. There are also wolves, lions, and tigers, but they are small and do little harm. We are beginning to have horses; they are those that ran away from the English in Carolina or from the Spaniards of the Upper Missouri. Some also came from the Osages and the Padouca.

Oysters are found in the marshes. They are so big that half a dozen is enough for a good meal. Very occasionally pearls are found in these oysters; such pearls however are so irregular, that, to speak like a jeweler, in Europe they would be sent back to pharmacists to be used for their *diamargariton*. Bezoar is found in the ventricle of roebucks, but it is far from having the fragrance and the virtue of that which comes from the East.

Excuse the disorder of this letter. I hasten to come to the missions, yet I am stopped by some questions you asked me and to which I have not yet answered. The first question concerns the number of Frenchmen here, and the second how houses are built in this country.

There are probably ten or twelve families in Dauphine Island, fifteen at Fort Louis,⁸⁹ five or six in the Illinois country, all of

⁸⁸ Dumont mentions another plant, a kind of bulbous root as remedy against the bite of the rattle-snake, I, 110; this herb, called *Oudla-Coudlogouille* by the natives, is described and a sketch of it is given by Le Page du Pratz, II, 60.

⁸⁹ In 1712, Dartaguet wrote that there were only 27 families, in lower Louisiana, of which only four families devoted themselves to the tilling of the land, AC, C 13A, 3:800. Charlevoix, II, 422, has 28 French families for that year. In 1713, for both Fort Louis and Dauphine Island, Duclos wrote that there were no more than 35 heads of family, AC, C 13A, 3:212, and Cadillac writing to Pontchartrain in October, says that on Dauphine Island "there are sixteen settlers both married and unmarried," AC, C 13A, 3:2, and to Crozat: "On Dauphine Island there are fourteen poor huts of stakes, a guardhouse and a prison, all covered with reeds," AC, C 13A, 4:390. Baron in his *mémoire* of 1714, ASH, 67-2, n. 4, gives 20 to 25 houses, 60 to 80 persons for Dauphine Island; one hundred houses [?] for Mobile, and about 150 persons including officers, soldiers, and civilians.

whom, except two or three, are wretchedly poor. The two companies of soldiers who are here are not included in this number, which is rather small for this vast and good country considering the length of time that went by since the French came here. Only three or four of the last batch of girls are married;⁹⁰ their husbands are soldiers who can not even support themselves. The Court and the Minister have been deceived by the lying reports about the wealth of our poor population.⁹¹ The little money in circulation has come from Pensacola where the King of Spain sends nearly 24,000 piastres every year. But two years ago, a new Governor came to Pensacola. By means of a shop and a warehouse filled with all kinds of merchandise he has cut all the channels through which some part of this money could flow into our colony.⁹² As an actual fact I am not sorry, for our inhabitants no longer relying on this will henceforth have to devote themselves to the tilling of the land which they have neglected until now.

Now for the manner in which the French build their houses in this country. All the houses are frame and one story high;⁹³ there is only one house which has two stories. The dwellings are comfortable enough. The walls are made of mud and white-washed outside and inside. The lime is made of oysters and other shells. Some of these houses have a solid brick foundation; all are two or three feet above the ground to protect the timber work from dampness; most have a gallery all around, and those which haven't are covered from top to bottom with lattices. The chimneys are suitable enough. Until now the fireplace only has been made of bricks. Nothing would prevent building brick flues, or having all the houses built of bricks as well as the fort itself, if a few brick-makers were sent from France. Brick clay⁹⁴ is as plentiful here as in Carolina, where all the houses are built of bricks.

In 1716, Duclos wrote that there were not more than forty inhabitants, AC, C 13A, 4:391.

⁹⁰ Cadillac to Crozat, October, 1713, said that eight of the girls who came on the *Baron de la Fauche* were still unmarried, AC, C 13A, 3:356. Twelve girls had come, AC, C 13A, 3:139.

⁹¹ Dartaguet's memoir of 1712, AC, C 13A, 2:803; Duclos, AC, C 13A, 3:214; Cadillac, *ibid.*, 38.

⁹² Duclos to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:212-213, 216-217; Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1713, *ibid.*, 81.

⁹³ All the houses of Dauphine Island are frame house and one story high, [Valette Laudun?], 241.

⁹⁴ The brick clay of Louisiana, said Cadillac, was worthless, AC, C 13A, 3:6.

Massacre or Dauphine Island is six or seven leagues long, and half a league wide; it is a little wider in the East where Port Dauphin is situated. The island is well situated, the soil is good, the air healthy. It lies parallel to the coast, only one league and a half away from it. The eastern portion of Dauphine Island is facing the west bank of the mouth of the Mobile River, about ten leagues away. Fort Louis de la Mobile is on the river of the same name, about nine leagues from its mouth. If it were not blocked by sand the biggest ships could enter the river and cast anchor at the foot of Fort Louis. They could go even ten leagues farther up where the old Fort Louis was, and which they abandoned to build the new Fort Louis nearer to the sea on more suitable ground. The latitude of new Fort Louis is 30°. It is warmer than in Provence, so that most of the trees remain green throughout the winter, here the most beautiful season of the year. The Mobile River even to the north of the Lake or Baye at its mouth is very wide, very deep, and abounds in fish.

All there remains for us to speak about is our missions. I must begin by saying something which will surprise you—we haven't yet any church in our main settlement.⁹⁵ God only knows the cause of this, whether it is due to poverty, indolence, or indifference about religion.⁹⁶

We have had here as many as five missions, namely, one each among the Illinois, the Arkansas, the Natchez, the Tunica, and the Apalachee. The lack of funds, the cruel wars waged by the savages against each other, the massacre of two of our missionaries,⁹⁷ the death of a third, and a number of other things contributed to the desolation of our missions, and have reduced them—to speak candidly—to one, namely, that of the Apalachee of which I have charge, or better, of which I had charge before

⁹⁵ That is to say in Mobile, for there was a church on Dauphine Island, AC, C 13A, 1:49-49 v., 3:48, 126, and ASH, 67-2, n. 4; the second one which was built on the island, the first having been destroyed by the raiders of 1711. There was yet no church in Mobile when Le Maire wrote in 1717, BN, Mss. fr., 12105:12.

⁹⁶ Poverty is the reason wrote Duclos, in 1713, AC, C 13A, 3:125. Cadillac attributed it to indifference, Mass was being said in a small room, the inhabitants were not disposed to build one, "I think they would be delighted to have no church at all according to the statement of the priests and missionaries," AC, C 13A, 3:48.

⁹⁷ MM. Foucault and St. Cosme. Claude Delisle annotated his extract here, ASH, 115 xxxii, n. 4. The French should arbitrate between the various Indian nations at war; they should prevent the Iroquois and the Illinois from waging war to the Louisiana Indians; when the Indians will see beautiful churches as in Canada, when missionaries are stationed among them, the Indians will have more piety and conversions will be more lasting.

good order and charity, which, according to St. Paul demands that we first take care of the *domesticos fidei*, obliged me to come here to help the Spaniards in the extreme necessity to which they were reduced.

From France, they let us hope that they will think about our missions. May God grant it! But judging from the way things are going, I think that all the nations of this country will have disappeared before that help comes. It is a matter of amazement to see how death has mowed down whole tribes since the arrival of the French in these parts.⁹⁸ Of some tribes only the name remains, others are visibly disappearing. It would seem that God sent missionaries to this country as the justifiers of His Justice (if one may use such expression) rather than as His co-operators in the conversion of the natives. How sad it is for men who are somewhat zealous to see themselves destined to be the accusers of those for whom they would willingly shed their blood!

Three things render our missions difficult. First, a certain indolence, insensibility, and indifference of all our Indian nations toward that which pertains to religion, so that they are no less prompt to give up the faith as they are to adopt it. Secondly, the multiplicity of languages, so great that over a space of twenty leagues on the Mobile River, four different tongues are being spoken, learning any one of which would keep a man busy all his life.⁹⁹ The moral impossibility in which we find ourselves to find in these languages terms that express our most essential mysteries.¹⁰⁰ We do not know, for instance, how to express the word 'person' of the mystery of the Trinity. Missionaries of various Orders have until now explained this mystery in the following fashion: there is one Great Spirit, who is all at once, Father, Son Spirit, and Spirit Good, in which you see that the word 'spirit' is substitute for that of person, a manifest error. The

⁹⁸ Le Page du Pratz, II, 204, attributes the disappearance of the Indians to wars and epidemics; Charlevoix, III, 249, says it is not possible to know the real reason, whole nations, he adds, have disappeared during the last forty years, and those which remain are only the shadow of what they were at the time of La Salle.

⁹⁹ "On trouvera peut-être quelque langue-mère en Louisiane, comme on a trouvé l'Algonquine en Canada," commented Delisle, ASH, 115 xxxii, n. 4. According to Dumont, I, 181, there was a common language, a kind of lingua franca, the Mobillian language, when one knew it one could travel throughout the Province without an interpreter.

¹⁰⁰ "Languages must be learned for which there are no books, no rules; and it requires great labor to express the mysteries (of Religion) in such imperfect tongues as these. These languages are very numerous, very different from one another," M. Varlet to his brother, BN, Mss. fr., n. a., 5398:50 v.

concept of 'spirit' includes of itself that of substance, which is not the case for the word 'person.' I have said candidly what I thought about this, and I have set people thinking in preference to an attempt at bringing about some remedy. I am not saying this to condemn my confreres, and it would be wrong on my part to expect that they should find in thirty years expressions about which the Eastern and Western Church had not yet agreed in the fourth and fifth centuries. Finally, this cruel and general war between the Indians of Louisiana is a very great obstacle to our missions. The French are unable to make the shortest journey without running the risk of being killed by savages before these realize that they are French. While we were at war with the English of Carolina, these stirred up several nations against us and our allies, keeping us in a continual state of alarm. The English were making raids against the French as far as 200 leagues inland in the Choctaw or Flathead country, which is about two hundred leagues from Fort Louis. The Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Arkansas are the friends of the French. We shall see whether the alarms that the English caused us will cease now that we are at peace with them. After all this, I am sure that you are not expecting from me glowing accounts of numerous and miraculous conversions. I have baptized few Indians, and out of ten, it is rare that I was not sorry I baptized nine of them. There is nothing here to encourage the poor missionaries. They must live solely by faith. They have not even the consolation if they are killed of considering themselves dying for Jesus Christ. What those who put them to death have in view is not so much hatred of the faith that the missionaries preach as theft of the few external goods they may possess.¹⁰¹ I wish this country would become settled, and in a way I don't. I wish it, because I do not know how missions can be established otherwise; on the other hand I do not wish it, on account of the scandal given by our Frenchmen in our young missions. There is perhaps no other mission in the world which demands more good qualities in the missionaries than the Louisiana missions. They must have more learning than people commonly imagine; they must be men of prayer; they must be young in order to be able to learn the languages; strong, to withstand the necessary work; firm, lest they be discouraged; mortified, in order to be chaste; for without this last virtue, nothing else can be expected but

¹⁰¹ Charlevoix, III, 431.

the fatal loss of their souls, since they must necessarily deal with peoples, whose women are weak and impudent, where occasions are always present, and where the isolation warrants silence and impunity.

I tremble when I think of all this. Pray to the Lord, Sir, and urge as many good people as you can to pray that He may deign to have mercy on His vineyard in this country, that He may send laborers, and good ones, who by increasing the number of children of Mother Church may increase also Her joy. Pray also for me, the most insignificant of those who labor in His vineyard, that I may know whether the inclination I feel to go back to Paris, under the pretext that I shall be more useful there than here, is His voice or that of self-love. Several holy and learned priests assured me when I left that there was some temptation in thus going away from that city. I repeat it again, please ask in the Holy Sacrifice the necessary light that I do nothing against the will of God. I shall begin, on the 21 of this month my 39th year. I still feel strong enough to work. The step is slippery; with the help of your prayers help me to take it. Do not refuse them, I beg of you, to your most humble and most obedient servant.

(Signed) Le Maire, priest, Apostolic Missionary

Contributors

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Notes and Comment

LOUISIANA MAPS

Whereas many reviews and journals published by local historical societies have diminished somewhat during recent years, the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* has increased in size. In its numbers for July and October of 1936 are found reproductions of early maps of Louisiana which are of great assistance to the student of the French colonial period. Thus among the maps reproduced in the article "Governor Perier's Expedition against the Natchez Indians," by Mr. John A. Green, there are five of special interest for the Natchez country. As far as the authorship of the maps is concerned, however, it is more likely that Dumont drew the one reproduced on Plate I rather than that reproduced on Plate II.

The first article of the October number is likewise a topographical paper. Its co-authors had determined to locate the first French fort, and indeed, as they say, "the first French settlement in what the present state of Louisiana was to become." The French began to clear the ground February 4, 1700, and they called their fort Fort Mississippi. Iberville's purpose in building this fort was, contrary to the assertion found in this article, to keep the English out of Louisiana (Margry, IV, 363). The explorer did not wish the colony which he intended to found to be sandwiched between the Spaniards in Pensacola and the English on the Mississippi. If the authors had read the complete journal of Father Du Ru, they would not have found it necessary to give to the word *traversier* their most unusual meaning. *Traversier* in every document means a transport boat, never a short cut. Father Du Ru's Journal, translated by Dr. R. L. Butler, is in print since 1934, and notice of it appeared in the *Times-Picayune New Orleans States*, Sunday, February 17, 1935.

In an endeavor to maintain their point the authors employ irrelevant arguments which have considerably weakened their position. Why, for instance, should it be asserted that the Fort lasted until 1715? The Fort, or whatever it was that went under that title, was dismantled in 1707. St. Denys was on the Mississippi, but he was not at Fort Mississippi, certainly not after 1707. The authors make much of the La Harpe statement, which is far from conclusive. How is it known that the fort on the Mississippi, to which the explorer is referring, is Fort Mississippi? (B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, III, 242.) The cartographical evidence does not support either contention. La Harpe came to Louisiana in 1719; two years later Charlevoix speaks of the Fort "placé presque a l'embouchure du fleuve du côté de l'Est," but he adds "il n'a pas subsisté longtemps" (*Histoire Générale de la Nouvelle France* . . . , Paris, 1744, II, 260). Map number 5 does not prove what the authors maintain. Statements in the official documents of the Archives des Colonies emphatically deny that "all grants were uniformly forty arpents deep" (Cf. Archives des Colonies, G. 1:465; C 13A, 11:82. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Joly de Fleury*, 1726:198; cf. also the statement in the manuscript *Relation de la Louisiane*, p. 204, Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, Chicago). The anonymous map placed first is certainly of a later date than Map 2. Map 6 is D'Anville's, and

Map 3 is an English transcription of that same map, and certainly not a La Tour map of 1720.

A proof that the fort no longer existed officially or unofficially in 1715 is found in the memoirs and maps of M. Le Maire. This missionary arrived in Louisiana in 1707 and left after 1720, and still not once either in his memoirs or on his maps does he mention the Fort as existing (cf. Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, C 4044; *ibid.*, Archives, 138 bis.-1-6; Bibliothèque Nationale, Ge. D 7883), nor is there any mention of it on the map of 1717 of Vermalle (cf. Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, C 4044). The slur cast upon this map by Thomassy (*Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane*, Nouvelle Orléans et Paris, 1860, 217), has been adequately dealt with by Marcel (*Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle, avec le texte explicatif*, par Gabriel Marcel, in Text, p. 82). Finally, there is in the Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, C 4040-27, an anonymous map, undated but not of a later date than 1710, which has "Ancient Fort de Mississippi, Rasé."

EDUCATION IN EARLY LOUISIANA

In the same October number there is an article entitled "The Development of Education in Louisiana Prior to Statehood." It is asserted that here is brought together for the first time "significant information on the educational conditions" prior to the admission of Louisiana into the Union. The article carries likewise some misinformation. The "some reason" why the agreement of September 1740 was not carried out is pretty clear from the letter of the *ordonnateur* Salmon to the Minister, April 5, 1742, Archives des colonies, C 13A, 27:115-116, and from that of Bienville and Salmon of April 30, June 15 and 16, Archives des colonies, C 13A, 27:27-29 v. The short paragraph on the Jesuits contains misconceptions that could have been avoided by referring to other than third-rate historians for authority. That Bienville had anything to do with the coming of the Ursulines to Louisiana is merely legend. "Considering the above sources of revenue together with the inherited property of the nuns and other endowments and gifts from friends the Convent must have been amply cared for during its early history." Why *must* it have been? As a matter of fact the sisters and orphans of the Convent were always on the verge of starvation, and the correspondence of Bienville and Salmon furnishes sufficient evidence to remove any doubt on the subject. It is somewhat amusing to read that the school of Father Cecil, a Capuchin "monk," was independent of Church domination, and it would be interesting to know who Abbé Portier was.

THE REVIEWED TO THE REVIEWER

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1936, reserves a section for communications, under the more general heading of book reviews. In these pages the reviewers of books are answered by the reviewed authors. A section such as this which grants an author some space for rebuttal has possibilities over and above the interest aroused in readers by the clash of capable pens in a personal way. Where statements used in an epistolary debate of this kind are enforced by scholarly proofs, much additional and detailed knowledge may be forthcoming. At least in the heat of academic conflict some previously obscure viewpoints of an author

and the exact positions of a writer and his critic may become more clear. And there is no one who will gainsay the assertion that some current historical productions need clarification, both with respect to the marshalling of data, unity of theme, distribution of emphasis, and with respect to precise rather than noncommittal attitudes or viewpoints. The example offered in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* is indicative of the value this type of debate may have. The danger lies in the acrimony that may be generated, in quibbles about points of no interest or import, and in useless controversy. While there would be no quarrel with this *Review* for introducing a communications section as a policy, since it is under capable and judicious editorship, there might be a considerable waste of type and energy if the same policy were to be followed by inept imitators.

SUPPORT OF CATHOLIC HISTORY

The Conference of Historical Societies has published a handbook in 127 pages, *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1936, \$1.50). It is "a current address book of historical societies and similar historical organizations . . . and an introductory source of information about their more salient activities and resources." The Catholic societies thus described are: American Catholic Historical Association, the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York City), the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Kansas Catholic Historical Society, the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul (Minnesota), Texas Catholic Historical Society, and Canadian Catholic Historical Association, seven in all in North America. In all there are 23 church historical societies, and hence Catholics maintain about one-third of the associations concerned somehow with religious aspects of history.

It may appear disheartening to realize that notable Catholic educational centers from coast to coast such as Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco, are devoid of lay interest in Catholic history. It does require a great amount of optimism on the part of our Catholic historians to carry on in the face of the widespread apathy. The support rendered to our Catholic historical publications is meagre in the extreme, and it is only by the aid of institutions or an endowment that the Catholic historical publications are able to appear at all. Catholics of this country undoubtedly support many, perhaps too many, periodicals of other types than historical, and it is difficult to account for their apathetic attitude toward history. The magnitude of this indifference can be estimated only by comparing the relatively very short mailing lists of the few historical publications, with the statistics of 20,735,189 Catholics, 31,108 priests and religious, 197 seminaries, 864 colleges, 1151 high schools. Yet the total number of Catholic supporters of publications of these societies is too embarrassing to mention. From the display in their divisions for periodicals and current literature, libraries of Catholic seminaries, universities, and colleges appear to be doing their duty toward fostering piety; on the other hand, some librarians by increasing the bulk of ephemeral literature are developing in students an appetite for the novelties from which their professors are striving to wean them. It would be pleasant to know that all of the Catholic students passing through collegiate halls have at least seen the scholarly Catholic periodicals during their college career.

FATHER ROTHENSTEINER

The Archdiocese of St. Louis and the Catholic historical world deeply regrets the passing of Right Reverend Monsignor John E. Rothensteiner, priest and scholar. The death of the distinguished historian occurred September 26, 1936, quietly, after his years of intensive labors and researches. The monumental history of his archdiocese which he produced under great handicaps and with painstaking zeal, gives him a well deserved and high rank among American Catholic historians. His scholarly contributions to Catholic thought appeared in a number of journals, among them the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* which became the present *Mid-America*. A short survey of his life and activity appears in the January, 1937, *Catholic Historical Review*, over the name of Thomas F. O'Connor.

THE LAST OF THE BLACK ROBES

Father William Francis Gagnieur, S. J., mentioned in *MID-AMERICA* last year on the occasion of the celebration of his golden jubilee, died at Sault, Ontario, February 7, 1937. He has been termed the "last of the Black Robes," because he was the last in the long succession of Jesuit missionaries who have evangelized the Indians of the Upper Lakes since the time of Marquette. During the half-century of service in the 40 far-flung missions from Manitoulin to Thunder Bay he endeared himself to the Chipewas especially, who called him only Pekinawgay, meaning "Winner." Having become a master of the Indian languages he was invited and went to the University of Michigan to make a complete phonographic record of their spoken word. *The Evening News* of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, carried the accounts of his life, death, and burial, February 8 to February 12, 1937.

POLICY FOR SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS

The *Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1937, according to its custom publishes the address of the retiring president of the American Catholic Historical Association, in this instance that of Daniel Sargent on "The Perspective of the Historian of Today." Besides this mature contribution, the same number carries two addresses delivered at the historical convention of the Association of the previous year, namely, "The Puritan Theory of the Sacraments in Seventeenth Century New England," by Perry Miller and "A New Program for Catholic Historians," by Marie R. Madden. This latter is a well thought out program for discussion by historians and teachers of history, revolving around the interpretation of history, research, and responsibility of the Catholic historian. We are interested to know what is being done about the proposal. If a committee of Catholic historians and teachers from the grade schools, high schools, colleges, and universities, were to meet and discuss the points outlined, it is quite conceivable that a very valuable and instructive guide in book form could be produced from the minutes of the meeting. A definite and organized program of teaching and study is much needed. A quarterly such as the *Historical Bulletin* could well serve the purpose of supplementing the work of the committee by publishing to a larger and more organized teaching body than that to which it does at present, new aids, advices, corrections of texts, programs, and progress.

PLACE-NAMES

The English Place-Name Society has published Volume XIII of its series, *The Place-Names of Warwickshire* (Cambridge, 1936). In the introductory pages will be found notes on the dialects of the territory designated, phonetic symbols, and corrections and additions, volume by volume, for the entire thirteen volumes. The work is remarkably well printed and edited, contains maps, satisfactory indices, notes, and appendices. Persons interested in place-names and street-names of the English cities, towns, and countrysides may become members of the Society and obtain its valuable findings by applying to the Hon. Secretary, English Place-Name Society, University College, Gower Street, London, W. C.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1936, gives most of its pages (189-311) to "Illinois Place-Names." The work was prepared in manuscript by the late William D. Barge of Chicago. After some years Dr. Norman W. Caldwell undertook the revisions and corrections, amplifications and condensations, with the happy result at hand. The origin of the names of places in Illinois with a reference to the principal authority or authorities for each is given, and the work is topped by a complete index.

BOOKS

Among the interesting books recently published is the new edition of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Volume X, by Herbert Thurston, S. J., and Donald Atwater. This volume of the series is revised and "copiously supplemented," and carries the charm and edification of the earlier edition with additional biographies of almost one hundred saints whose feasts fall in October. . . . *Marie de l'Incarnation: Ecrits Spirituels et Historiques*, edited by Dom Albert Jamet (Tome III, Paris, 1935) contains over sixty letters written from New France by the venerable and apostolic superior of the Ursulines who arrived at Quebec in 1639 and aided in the building of that city. . . . Volume VI of *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* appeared (Toronto, 1936,) in translation and reprint quite up to the standard established for the preceding volumes by the general editor, H. P. Biggar. This volume completes the *Works*, unless, as we hope, a supplementary summary of Champlain's activity is added by the associates of the Champlain Society which has sponsored the collation and translation. . . . *Early Explorations and Mission Establishments in Texas*, by Edward W. Heusinger (San Antonio, 1936) is a short account of the area known as Tejas in colonial times, emphasizing the explorers and missionaries. . . . Among the books needlessly and heedlessly published during the past year will be found *The Scotch-Irish in Northern Ireland and in the American Colonies*, by Maude Glasgow, carelessly done in 345 pages.

Book Reviews

The Spanish Tragedy. By E. Allison Peers. New York, Oxford University Press, 1936. pp. xvi+247. \$2.50.

The author of this volume, by a queer turn of fortune, produced a work that meets the demand of the moment. Originally written as a record of six years spent in that changing land, the final chapter became the climax of an epoch in history, and suggested the excellent title that caps the cover of the book.

The rapidly developing situations in Spain today necessitate a running account of their sequence by one who has been on the ground. This need is met by Mr. Peers. With an unusual detachment from the passions of the moment he has put down in their proper order the principal facts in the story of the rise and fall of the Spanish Republic. In all he has used great care to avoid introducing extraordinary news features of little permanent significance. With unfailing perseverance he has kept to the chief issue and his work is a first-class guide to contemporary affairs in Spain.

The opening of the tragedy is the birth of the republic. This coming of a new democracy is dramatic in the story of the dictatorship leading into the royal departure, and it gives a fine setting for the narrative that is to follow. The republican constitution is next put in form, and its making brings into sharp relief the truth that the underlying issues in Spain were not democracy against the monarchy but the Left against the Right, Modernity against Tradition, the new indoctrination against the continuity of Spanish culture. On this issue the leaders of Spain took sides, and the tragedy rushed ahead.

The tangle unresolved, because of its essential complexity and the slowness of cumbersome democracy, the remaining acts of the drama continue in three phases: Two Years of the Left, Two Years of the Center-Right, and, at last, the Chaos of February-July in 1936.

This book is valuable up to the point of factual correctness and good order. Anything higher in the realm of interpretation of the tragedy of Spain must await calmer times and a more judicious pen. There is a great weakness in the book, in the nearly complete lack of viewpoint along any fixed line of judgment. The author veers back and forth between different positions, treating highly controversial matters with lightness or a dismaying lack of perspective. Sometimes one suspects him of bending over backward to stay on good terms with the Santander Agreement that ushered in the coup d'etat of 1931. Such is bound to be the shortcoming of a book of the moment, but this will not prevent many from using this handy volume to aid them in reading and speaking on contemporary Spain.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University, Chicago

Roosevelt to Roosevelt. By Dwight Lowell Dumond. New York, Henry and Company, 1937. pp. 585. \$2.60.

Professor Dumond has made an effort to present the developments of the twentieth century in a form suitable for the average reader, and also so organized that it might be used as a college textbook. As a matter of fact, it will perhaps neither greatly please nor disappoint either group. The detail that characterizes sections of it may pall upon the reader who wishes to be entertained, and likewise, the rather marked indifference to the chronological order may confuse the student. At any rate, it tries to reach two rather different types of readers, and perhaps succeeds as well as any book can succeed, which tries to be too many things to too many different groups. The average reader will undoubtedly profit from the volume, as much from the viewpoints expressed and the judgments voiced in passing, as from the information which is presented. The college student who has the political background rather well in mind will gain great profit from the volume, since it deals much more in detail with many controversial issues than does the usual textbook. It is quite possible that more, rather than fewer textbooks of this type will be written in the future. Such a book does a great deal to fashion an attitude, and if we wish attitudes developed from our study of history, a book such as the one by Professor Dumond may serve very well.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the book is written with a keen sense of discernment, and decisions are given with impartiality. The extreme conservative may dislike the book, but that may be endorsement rather than a condemnation. American social, political, and economic problems are faced frankly and the results of investigation are clearly stated. It is true that the average reader will not agree with every appraisal made, but in the great majority of cases the reasons given by the author are apt to secure assent from the reader.

Although the study presumably starts with the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the author goes back into the preceding decades for the origins of many movements. In chapters such as "The Heritage of Twentieth-Century Americans," "Survivals and Symbols," and "In Defense of Economic Freedom," the author pays but little attention to chronological development, but finds it more effective to present the problems unhampered by any restrictions of that nature. At times, as in the chapter "War to End Wars," the author writes searchingly and analytically, as when he states, of the American people: "They dug down in their pockets for billions of dollars to vindicate the pagan theory that the way to preserve peace was to prepare for war. They displayed an amazing simplicity of thought in lauding the agreements to humanize war, as if war could ever be humanized. Underlying all else was a very real spirit of humanitarianism and love of peace; but there was an unfortunate lack of realism in both. Most people were deeply concerned over the plight of oppressed peoples in foreign lands and perfectly oblivious to conditions at home. They did not want war, but failed to understand the part that economic rivalry, national bigotry, and irresponsible governments play in creating wars."

Throughout the book there is that same tendency to challenge the reader, and even when agreement is not present, the reader is kept men-

tally alert. It is not the type of book that one reads merely for information. It is true that the reader cannot "talk back," so to say, to the author, but the reading of such a volume is much more interesting than can be said of the purely informational works.

A well prepared bibliography for each chapter is given at the end of the volume, as is also a detailed index. The format is pleasing, the price is decidedly reasonable, and these two facts, together with the satisfactory nature of the contents, should assure the book a hearty reception in this period when history seems so important to the man in the street as well as to the student and teacher in the classroom.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

The Quebec Act, A Primary Cause of the American Revolution. By Charles H. Metzger, S. J. New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph Series XVI, 1936. pp. x+223.

The difficulty of measuring human motives and of establishing the opinions of men definitely by means of the scientific yardstick of historical documents was fully realized by Father Metzger in this study, which was originally presented to the University of Michigan as a doctoral dissertation. But his assertion that religious prejudice operated as a contributing cause of the War for Independence, seems to be beyond cavil after reading his proof in this elaborate, thoroughly documented thesis.

After a brief survey of the colonial religious background, the author questions successively the pulpit, the press, the resolutions of county and provincial assemblies, and finally, the addresses of the Continental Congress with regard to the Quebec Act. For New England clergymen every question of Church was a question of State; the cause of civil liberty, as they understood it, could only be saved by execrating the Church of Rome; they believed that their zeal for religion was put beyond question when they had heaped venomous denunciations on other creeds. These exponents of intolerance were ably seconded by the heads of educational institutions and by subsidized lectureships. The press of New England emulated the clergy of that region; it became vociferous after the Bill which granted toleration to the Quebec Catholics and which they chose to consider, after having sedulously misrepresented it, as a menace to colonial Protestantism. The only difference between the New England press and that of the other colonies was that the former outdid all the others in violence. Father Metzger foresaw that this section of his thesis could be challenged, for it might be questioned whether he was entitled to maintain that the press was an index of public opinion in those days. John Adams judged it to be the case, and arguments are proposed to show that the judgment of Adams is to be accepted. Yet, the reader would still be entitled to a reasonable doubt, because the gentlemen who signed their names or who sent to the Editors their "lucubrations against popery" under the name of Scipio, Cato, or Veritas, may still have been deluded in supposing that they were expressing public opinion when they were merely voicing their own intolerance. Father Metzger dispels this doubt by adducing the resolves of town meetings, county and provincial assemblies, and of the Continental Congress.

To the query which of the three addresses, namely, to the King, to the People of Britain, or to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, bespeaks the real mind of Congress, the answer given as much more probable is the first and the second address. Considering the colonial background, this is the only logical answer, but the explanation proposed by Father Metzger to account for the signing by the same men of these dissimilar addresses at a few days, interval fails to carry complete conviction. It is small surprise that the Canadians, when they discovered the discrepancies of the two sets of addresses, should have refused to throw in their lot with the American Colonies. This study of the reaction to a phase of the Quebec Act on the American colonists makes absorbing reading, all the more so because the author throughout his work allows the actors to speak for themselves. After perusing this study the part played by the religious elements in the American Revolution can no longer be overlooked or ignored.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Loyola University, Chicago

Catholicism in New England to 1788. By Arthur J. Riley. Washington, D. C. Studies in American Church History, Vol. XXIV, 1936, pp. ix+479.

Catholics in New England were few until 1788, and Father Riley frankly admits that no approximate estimates of their number are possible, and hence the history of Catholicism in New England can only be "a history of the moulding and development of a hostile viewpoint to various aspects of Catholic civilization. The materials for this history is to be found in the literature of the colonial period: the sermons, catechisms, school-books, diaries and almanacs." This scholarly thesis is the development of these few sentences. It could have been entitled a "study in traditional prejudice," for the preachers' lack of originality is only too evident. Throughout the period the same similes, the same comparisons, most of them of the virulent type, were repeated *ad nauseum* until the eve of the American Revolution. It is only natural that the antagonism to the Catholic rule of Faith should be more particularly directed against the Catholic Sacramental dispensation and all its accompanying religious practices; in this there was a material element on which the epithet of idolatry could be pinned and there was an almost inexhaustible wealth of anathemas in the Books of the Old Testament, which, after having misrepresented what those ceremonies stood for, the teachers of hatred could hurl at the Catholics and yet flatter themselves that they were the spokesmen of the God of Love. Five of the seven Sacraments were discarded, because, it was claimed, there was no scriptural foundation for them; the Mass was the "worst of all Idolatries"; the doctrine of indulgences was misstated and then reviled; the saints of the calendar were said to be "adored"; holydays and festivals, Christmas especially, against the keeping of which a law was passed, were done away with; some carried their opposition to images so far that they saw in the red cross of the English flag a "relique of Antichrist."

It is difficult in the restricted space of a review to do justice to the wealth of information Father Riley has marshaled, information derived

from his uncommon command of this literature of combat. It is to be expected that the Puritan outlook upon Catholic history should be distorted, but as Father Riley points out, "opposition to the Stuarts outweighed opposition to the Catholics when the Puritan mind had to make a choice between the two. . . . When the Stuarts were overthrown, the Puritan mentality ceased to squint: thenceforth it looked eye to eye with the Home Government." Of course, the opposition to the Pope and to the Bishops crystallized in the attitude toward priests, the worst of whom were, naturally, the Jesuits. This was only logical. The Puritans were unlikely ever to come in direct contact with the Pope or the Cardinals or the Bishops, but there were priests laboring not far away from New England. Some Catholic priests came to New England, but these were few owing to the anti-priest laws. This virulent antagonism may be said to have culminated in what many New England historians call "Father Rasle's War." The account of the death of this Jesuit missionary with its accompanying circumstances is very cautiously set forth. Father Riley after weighing the evidence on both sides leaves this historical problem unsolved. Restrictions on the religious freedom and limitations of the political and civil liberties of Catholics were the order of the day. The various Oaths of Abjuration required by the Home Government, to which no Catholic could in conscience subscribe, were carefully administered in the Colonies. In some instances their personal liberty was seriously circumscribed, but it should be said that Catholics could be present in New England, provided they were only present. An exhaustive bibliography and seven appendices complete this painstaking, thorough, scholarly study. Appendix E alone with some parts of Chapter V is a thesis within a thesis and supposes as much research as is found in many a doctoral dissertation.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Loyola University, Chicago

Joel R. Poinsett, *Versatile American*. By J. Fred Rippy. Durham, North Carolina, 1935. pp. xii + 257.

Joel Roberts Poinsett (1779-1851), "the last of the South Carolina Poinsetts," traced his descent to a French Huguenot who settled early in America. During the war times his father departed America with his family to the protection of England, returning in 1788 when the patriotic cause was successful. Joel, delicate of health, studied the classics and European languages in England, but was forced to discontinue medical studies because of illness in 1798. He regained his health studying and practicing military tactics and fencing. His father's dislike for military things caused Joel to abandon the soldier's profession for the study of law. Joel's dislike for law caused him to abandon that, and thus at the age of twenty-two, his formal education completed, he took to touring foreign lands and America.

As a traveler he met the great men of Europe; their esteem and the receptions accorded him, especially that of the Russian court, established his reputation as an affable and astute American. The officialdom of the United States became aware of his prestige and marked him for a diplomatic appointment. With Europe in a dither over Napoleon, and with the

United States fearful that France or England might take some territory and commerce in Spanish-America, where independent juntas were in operation, Poinsett was designated "an agent for seamen and commerce" for Buenos Aires, arriving there in 1811. Soon afterwards he was appointed consul-general for Buenos Aires, Chile, and Perú, bent on defeating England in the race for commerce. Until 1815 he was the "apostle of liberty in South America," fostering revolt and actually marching with Chilean insurgents as an adviser. For this he "was not entirely frank" with his government, and there has been hiding of evidence and diplomatic justification of his unjustifiable actions.

Home at the conclusion of this unsuccessful revolutionary apostolate, in 1816 he discreetly assisted the Chilean revolutionary Carrera in a new attempt at independence. By 1819 his government recognized him as the outstanding authority on Spanish-American affairs. Meanwhile, he had been elected congressman and was a liberal and nationalist legislator. Even in this capacity he made his well-known trip to Mexico. While considering card-playing an evil thing, he upset the throne of Emperor Agustín Iturbide. From 1825 till 1830 he was in Mexico, "representing democracy." Becoming envious of the prestige of England in the Mexican scene, he began giving lessons in democracy by aiding the Mexican politicians in the formation of rival lodges of Scottish and York Rite Masons. As in Chile, he interpreted the instructions of his government in his own way, probably without evil intent, certainly according to a "trimming" or "end justifies the means" policy, inevitably to his own downfall. He was practically banished, technically recalled in 1830; Mexico was glad he was gone, and his friends in the States were glad he was back safely.

He again entered the political arena in South Carolina as a Unionist against the Nullifiers, and suffered defeat and loss of fortune. After the dangerous national crisis was passed Poinsett was appointed Secretary of War, in which office he initiated notable and needed reforms and became concerned with frontier Indian affairs and the Mexico-Texas friction. From 1841 until his death he lived the life of a retired but interested statesman, student of affairs, and patron of the arts.

Dr. Rippey tells the story of this versatile American in a quiet manner and practically out of the letters and official statements of Poinsett. It cannot be said definitely that this is the type of biography Poinsett himself would have desired to have had written about himself, but it is a biography remarkable for what the author leaves untouched. There will always be those who will regard Poinsett as the first of a long line of United States meddlers who have muddled the Mexican and South American relations with this country, who have felt cocksure of their ability to estimate Hispanic-American character and politics at a glance, and who have had supreme confidence in their respective panaceas for backwardness, strife, and lack of democratic ideology. Poinsett will always have those who resent him. But it seems that Dr. Rippey has really tried to present him as he was, without much approval of his procedures and without much regard for opposition sentiment, without glorification and distortion. How far the evidence produced is capable of establishing firmly the motives behind the actions of Poinsett as a diplomat, is another question. What is presented is a clear concept of Poinsett as a versatile American, and those who care

to read between the lines will notice that his very versatility carried with it the elements of many failures.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Santa Anna, The Story of an Enigma Who Once Was Mexico. By Wilfred Hardy Callcott. Norman, Oklahoma, 1936. pp. xiv+391. Illustrated. \$3.00.

The blurb writer calls Antonio López de Santa Anna a "child of destiny," "the spirit of Mexico," and all those things. Dr. Callcott in his preface says "his life presents a strange resemblance to the course of a turbulent summer's day." The book is divided into five parts, Daybreak, Morning, Afternoon, Dusk, and Dark. Each part is prefaced by an appropriate poetic aphorism. A Table of Dates of importance in the life of Santa Anna and a Dramatis Personae cause the reviewer to pause before repeating the life story of "the ravisher of the Alamo." A serviceable bibliography and index, some good illustrations, and the cherished typeface of the University of Oklahoma Press enhance the value of the work.

Professor Callcott has gathered together within the pages of this book most of the available information about the political flying-trapeze contortions of Santa Anna. Not only that but he has brought in much of the history of Mexico during one of its eras of complete and highly undignified turmoil. It required a certain amount of courage to attempt a history of the life and times of a small-town politician doing what the same would do when placed in the arenas of national and world affairs, and it required more courage to try to estimate what a person of the Santa Anna type might be thinking about while manipulating the destinies of his people. The book is well-written and should prove useful as well as interesting. It will serve to illustrate just how far removed from any concepts of democratic institutions the so-called Republic of Mexico was after gaining its independence from Spain and it will clarify many ideas about the popular government, education, presidents, elections, generals, and international relations of Mexico. Santa Anna was no enigma, no mystery, but merely another caudillo, an illustration in his life and activities of what many an Hispanic-American republic has had to suffer during this past century in the way of militaristic opportunists. The real enigma is why persons of his ilk are tolerated by the people.

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